

ARYA:

The Call of the Future

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by

GRAHAM

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DEDICATED
TO
THE PEOPLES OF INDIA
ONE HUMAN PROJECTION



CONTENTS

	PAGE
FOREWORD	13
ACKNOWLEDGMENT	19
FORETHOUGHT	21
CHAPTER	
I. SURVEY FROM THE MOUNTAIN TOPS	23
II. INDIA—ONE HUMAN PROJECTION	36
III. THE EVIDENCE OF "EXPERTS"	49
IV. MATERIAL OR MORAL	67
V. INDIAN THOUGHT-STRUCTURE	78
VI. THE ONLY POSSIBLE ROAD	91
VII. EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCE	104
VIII. THE CALL OF THE FUTURE	117
IX. THE PARADOX OF SOCIALISM AND INDIAN NATIONALISM	130
X. NATIONAL PHILOSOPHY	143
XI. TO FIND CULTURAL MOMENTUM	163
XII. SOVEREIGNTY	173
XIII. THE PRINCES AND CONGRESS	186
XIV. THE GOAL OF ALL INDIA	205
XV. THE INDIAN CONFERENCES	217
XVI. A CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHICAL-FEDERAL SYSTEM	229
EPILOGUE	247



A R Y A :

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FOREWORD

IN setting out upon a voyage of discovery in such troubled waters, and beset with so many dangers as are those of Indian politics, assuredly the position, circumstance, and moment of the traveller are important. Moreover in themselves they possess a certain uniqueness.

When I re-returned to India in 1932, I was under no kind of obligation to do so. I was enjoying both comfort and prosperity amid every condition of domestic happiness. I sacrificed a certain and growing income for one much less and, indeed, hazarded by its vagueness, as, in fact, was afterwards proven. I went to India on a voyage of discovery. I returned from India having undergone an unique experience.

I was in intimate touch with forces in India which are shaping events. I had access to everything, and was wholly free from every kind of convention. I was in India at a time when great political changes were foreshadowed and were

already making themselves articulate and felt. I left India because the things which I purposed, subject to the influences imposed upon them and through lack of authority and power, were incapable of truthful fulfilment. The time was not ripe. Cosmic planetary purpose appears to corroborate events in their due sequence. The age of miracles is not past, but perception how much duller than when God-like virtues walked more openly with man. I am experiencing, also, a period of reflection, when action is arrested and there is time for meditation. The political struggle in India has gone on, increasing in its ferocity.

In this same period fresh forces have broken out in the Western world. There is bitter controversy and men invent fresh slogans for every hour. History and its teachings are ignored. What the past has to contribute is forgotten. New gods are summoned to take the place of those whose feet have been found to be made of clay.

The House of Commons is at present so constituted that through the obedience of the majority to the Party Headquarters which subsidizes election expenses, provides remunerative offices and bestows rewards, the White Paper Proposals, except for almost a miracle, are final. The Opposition Parties will support the proposals because they are

a step along the road to that dismemberment of the British Empire which is their avowed goal. So great a moral crime is what is proposed, that the purpose of this book is to shock the moral consciousness of the British Nation. But its further and higher purpose is to awaken public consciousness to the opportunity which India, as the greatest of all world problems, provides for a renewal of British Statesmanship and World Leadership.

In a work whose objective is to analyse a Governmental System and to produce therefrom a fresh concept, it is neither desirable, nor indeed possible, to enter into a long discourse upon cultural influences or theosophical beliefs. For reasons which appear, it is essential to this work that the reader should be introduced to the philosophies which largely govern the political thought of India. Obviously, on no point has the argument been exhaustive. The intention has been to extract the essence from varying philosophic beliefs and to state these in simple terms understandable by those who would be confused or even bored by longer examination. Moreover, the objective herein is by analysis to evolve a new Governmental tempo and rhythm. This issue, for the Western mind, might well become lost in the Babel of any further witness; while for the student a vast philosophical

and theosophical literature is available in which he may possibly lose himself without coming to any sociological conclusions. • There is presented here • a sociological conclusion, and if the argument may appear sometimes inconclusive to learned investigators, the object rather has been to enunciate definite principles to the uninstructed.

Perhaps it was inevitable that there should be some repetition: this is deliberate in order that the object of emphasizing what is fundamental to governmental action, and that these points, like the Himalayan Peaks, shall stand out above the scape of Communal interests and the Babel of bazaar conspiracy, dialectics and mere gossip. Just as India is the supreme exemplar of the One in Many, so this work, concerned with many notions, is also possessed both of one idea and of one ideal.

Let no one misunderstand sympathy for concession to principle or to what is manifestly wrong. Let no one mistake the impartiality of a critical analysis of the British Government in India for approval of what is vicious, unclean, corrupt, cruel and oppressive in Indian life. Let no one suppose that if I find in Government a depressing materialism, and an uninspiring aloofness, that idealistic • desire has blinded me to the appalling materialism • as expressed in usury and in plotting for position

Foreword

which characterizes nearly every circumstance of Indian life from the highest to the lowest. By analysis, from the evidence of Indian history, within the scope of a short volume, I have attempted to show that there exists a vacuum in the Governmental system and in Indian life which, if properly filled, will secure to All-India peaks of happiness and prosperity hitherto unattained.

Suspended from action, I have been able to watch events, to analyse, to prepare, to be in touch with things which in the rush of events pass most men by. This is not a work of faith, of unsecured belief or of theory, but of knowledge. This work may, therefore, prescribe events.

GRAHAM SETON HUTCHISON.

November, 1933.



ACKNOWLEDGMENT

A GRATEFUL acknowledgment is here expressed to those writers and thinkers who have been good enough to contribute the specialized research and translations upon which this work is founded. For reasons which appear in the text, I prefer not to give a list of authorities and sources because by so doing a clue would be provided to the identity of eminent Civil administrators and soldiers whose achievements I have no desire either to belittle or, indeed, to criticize. During the ample time available for the preparation of this book I have been able to make a careful study of a great number of authoritative works written by the highest authorities, both British and Indian, as well as to observe and analyse a host of documents and pamphlets which ordinarily would not meet the eye of the reader. Three authorities I will name—Lord Zetland, Rabindranath Tagore and Mr. E. B. Havell. I make this exception because I desire to acknowledge the influence of their conclusions and to note that their judgments and sympathies are

widely different from those of other authorities. To those with whom I have been in correspondence, and to the many with whom I have discussed various aspects of the subject of this work, I here fully acknowledge my indebtedness for the material from which the conclusions are drawn.

FORETHOUGHT

I, who reflect, thus—

“How could the Love between Thee and me sever ?
As the leaf of the Lotus abideth on the water,
so Thou art my Lord and I am thy servant.
As the moon-bird chakor gazeth all night at the moon,
so Thou art my Lord and I am thy servant.
From the beginning until the end of Time there is love
Between Thee and me ;
and how shall such love be extinguished ?

“Kabir saith, As a river arriving unto the Ocean,
so my heart toucheth Thee.”

To the reader, I speak thus—

“The truth-seeker’s battle goes on day and night,
as long as life lasts it never ceases.”

“Listen to the Word, the Truth, which is your essence.
He speaks the Word to Himself ; and He Himself is
the Creator.”

“Hear my deathless words. If you want your own good,
examine and consider them well.

You have estranged yourself from the Creator, of whom
you have sprung : you have lost your reason, you
have brought death.

All doctrines and all teachings are sprung from Him,
from Him they grow : know this for certain, and
have no fear.

Hear from me the tidings of this great truth !”

ARYA: the Call of the Future

"Look within your heart for there you will find both
Karim and Ram."

"Gird on thy sword and join in the fight !
Fight, O my brother, so long as life lasteth !
Strike off the enemy's head and there make an end of
him quickly :

Then come, bow thyself in the King's Assembly.
A brave man leaveth not the battle :

He who flieth from it is no true warrior.
In the field of this body a great war is toward
Against Passion, Anger, Pride, and Greed.
It is for the kingdom of Truth, of Contentment, and of
Purity that this battle is raging :
And the sword that ringeth most loudly is the
sword of His Name."

"Lamps burn in every house, O blind one ! and you
cannot see them.

One day your eyes shall suddenly be opened, and you
shall see : and the fetters of death will fall from you.

*From One Hundred Poems of Kabir, translated by
Rabindranath Tagore.*

CHAPTER I

SURVEY FROM THE MOUNTAIN TOPS

THERE is too often set up the claim that only those who possess a long experience of Indian conditions and public affairs have any title to authority. Yet it is not to be doubted that the faithful student of history, detached as he must essentially be from the scene of his examination, may be able better to clarify matters which appear bewildering than can those whose minds through long years have been absorbed by the details of administration and have, no doubt, been influenced by the passing prejudice of the hour.

Just as the details, no doubt important in themselves, of Home Domestic Policy—such questions as Finance, Citizen Employment, Insurance, Marketing, Foreign Policy—must largely preoccupy the minds of those entrusted and concerned with the day-to-day administration of Great Britain, so, even in greater degree, do the daily problems of modern India often confuse the main issue, relegating what is most important to the background, and giving

emphasis to questions which should not be permitted to exert an influence. •

Taking the example of British domestic policy, a host of miserable details have been permitted to overcloud all important historical truths which should have governed and shaped statecraft.

It can be observed here that in the days when the industrial system of Great Britain was developed, England was the most important manufacturing country in the world. Simultaneously with the achievement of Britain's paramount Maritime Power the uses of steam were discovered, and the rich coal seams of Britain were developed. Britain obtained control of the world's finance and shipping; and, possessed already of an overseas Empire, the British were enabled to develop what at that time was an unrivalled overseas trade in the new industrial era. British pre-eminence began to disappear at the climax of the last century because other nations had commenced to mine coal and to manufacture the goods, both of which had previously been exported to them. And these nations largely accomplished what Britain had hitherto done from the credits lent to them by ourselves from the favourable trade balance, and with British machinery sold to them in exchange for food and raw materials. The once great and prosperous agricultural industry of this

country declined, while agricultural labourers flocked to the cities to be absorbed in the industrial population and to advantage themselves of the amenities provided by city life. A further factor accentuated the decline of British overseas trade, namely, the stimulation given to national industries by the breakdown of world trade during the Great War and the necessity which such a breakdown encompassed for nations to erect the means of manufacture for commodities which they had previously imported. The post-War tendency of all nations has been to safeguard these new national industries behind high tariff walls. Great Britain finds itself in a position novel to those whose minds are fixed by the principles and conditions which in the earlier history of this country were productive of great national wealth and prosperity. Great Britain is preoccupied, therefore, with a host of problems in every field of public activity which obscure the historical truth which itself alone can provide their solution.

It is no purpose herein to enter into a discussion of British economic and social organization. But it may be observed in passing that when bankers and politicians tell us that the breakdown of British international trade is only a temporary affair, they are informing us of what is not true. The facts of

history and of sociology are the surest possible evidence that though some possible markets may be closed by reason of revolutions, political disturbance and monetary conditions, there will not be a return to the international trade to which in the last half of the past century we had been accustomed. These observations are by way of introduction to serve as an illustration that history is the sure guide to each political problem as it arises. They insist also, perhaps, that if a fresh viewpoint is necessary upon home problems, in greater measure is it desirable upon the Indian scene.

The purpose herein is to direct the mind upon the really vital matters concerned with the future of India. And here is a Sub-Continent so vast that it must be observed from the mountain tops, even as throughout all the ages India, both physically and culturally, has been governed by the spirit of the mountains of the Himalaya. Not only the British nation but the whole world pays dearly for a lack of understanding of the Indian question, which itself is bound up with that of all the East. British statesmanship appears to be fatally obsessed with the thought that it is necessary or expedient for Britain to adopt policies in the East which a deeper insight into the psychology of Indian history

would declare to be evidence of a lack of political wisdom as profound as it is tragic. Greater power would certainly be added to British foreign policy if British statesmen would understand that the cause both of Great Britain and of India are identified in the application of the ancient Aryan principles.

During recent years there has poured from the Presses an immense literature devoted to various aspects of the Indian question, and it is inspired almost exclusively by prejudice for this policy or that, and coloured by motives of personal bias and temporary Party advantage. Of the latter, two divergent points alone appear to be those to which the writers address themselves, and they are evidence of the writers' preoccupations and mentality. One class of reasoning views India only as an object of exploitation, and Indians as people to be "governed" and "civilized" according to British determination. On the other hand, there are writers of the International-Socialist school whose solution for all Indian problems is to submerge India within some kind of world-Communist order and to sublimate the traditional instincts of Indians to the machine-made social planning inspired by theories upon the sociology of a mechanized age. These writings appear to have one thing in common, that they approach the Indian problem without a knowledge

of the historical background, and contribute judgment according to Western standards alone.

Throughout every class of book, also, there appears to be a contempt for the manifestations of Indian philosophic belief. It is a poor judgment of all that contributes to civilization and to the uplift of Humanity which assesses and finally gives its verdict upon the frailties of human nature alone. In the evolution of human ideas a curious cycle is observed. Tendencies and beliefs which have been rejected as harmful or reactionary tend to reappear, sometimes in a new guise with all the freshness of youth, and they are then acclaimed by those unfamiliar with their history as evidence of the advancement of civilization. If the study of history were more vital, and if it showed ideas, tendencies and institutions in their unfolding and orderly development, and if the lessons of history so studied were really learned, the world would be saved an infinite amount of loss, of suffering, and of discouragement.

It can be of no purpose herein to re-examine the wearisome reports, official and otherwise, books and pamphlets and propaganda which only serve to cloud the clear issue.

What are here offered are the vital-psychological considerations affecting One People, whose essential

Unity is asserted. Of that there is the solid evidence of more than six thousand years of unbroken history.

The British connections with India have endured but two centuries. No man can rightly contest the sincere attempt of men of the British race to play an honourable part in Indian history. To deny that Britain has never been activated by lofty motives would be to give the lie to British loyalty to the Aryan ideal. To dispute this loyalty is but a declaration of ignorance of the origins of the British race. It fails to heed, understand and interpret the gathered centuries of history, tradition and culture which, generation after generation, have inspired the race, adding fresh laurels and renewed greatness to men of our breed. Although no living race can rightly claim an unalloyed Aryan origin, yet of all the races of mankind, Britons possess the highest claim to have absorbed, but never to have been absorbed.

The culture of the British race, stretching right back into the misty obscurity of endless time, traces itself to an Aryan origin. Upon the Aryan philosophy and concepts have been fashioned all that we hold ennobling and truly worth while.

The conception of a new world order has already touched the modern imagination in a degree that

has never happened in the long interval of history since the ancient Aryan wisdom penetrated into the principles of human life and association. The essentials of that wisdom are corroborated by our own most modern and scientific psychology.

Great Britain has a crucial part to play in world affairs. It is Great Britain pre-eminently which can function in the East with such insight as to induce the East to accept the Western technique of human and scientific organization. But Great Britain must yet learn to gain from the East the intrinsic values of pure subjective thought which will crown her material achievement.

Perhaps one of the major weaknesses of the British governmental system is that no better formula of inconvenient criticism and more inconvenient inquiry was ever invented than that which lulls the public to a sense of security and which is used unblushingly by successive Ministers when they speak of "my advisers". The Civil Service may often remain inarticulate under injustice. Pre-eminently they are counted among "the advisers", and their life must be one of silence. Perhaps in matters concerned with domestic affairs this does not very much matter. The British public themselves are possessed of a very good sense as between truth and untruth. But, in dealing with India, the

British public is in the hands of its Ministers almost alone, and in that of the advisers. Although called upon to give judgment upon Indian affairs, the British public knows virtually nothing of Indian conditions and certainly nothing of Indian history.

The "experts", with very rare exceptions, are those who have given long years of service in India itself, and in the recruitment of those services a notable feature is that nepotism has largely been manifest. Successive generations frequently follow one another; and no one can doubt that the attitude of one generation is passed on to another. Moreover, it was objectively as traders and conquerors that the East India Company first established a connection between Great Britain and India. The results of such conquest by force of arms, such preservation of Government by force of arms, and such objectives of exploitation, however harsh may appear the term, must indelibly have marked the minds of successive generations of British administrators in India. Moreover, there is no service in the world so strict in its traditions, none which so definitely moulds its servants in them, none in which nepotism can be more magnified. Young men enter that Service when in their early twenties. During the most impressionable years of youthful experience they acquire a

integrity have perceptibly declined. There is a growing lack of moral principle. New statutes may be needed. Both among business men and at the Bar are to be found advisers, counted shrewd and successful, who have substituted the penal code for moral law as the standard of conduct. Right and Wrong—laws of justice and equity—have given way to the subtler distinction between what is not illegal and that which is illegal.

One of the opportunities which India so singularly offers is that in its vastness the number of Englishmen being so small, each one is seen under the microscope. It stands immeasurably to the credit of the Indian Civil Service that its men, with rare exceptions, have withstood the test of the closest examination, where in England far lesser men with great public reputations would not have survived the ordeal. But the steadfastness is being undermined. Lack of moral integrity is less uncommon.

Lack of intellectual integrity may become a vice. In how far such instability has been encouraged by the vacillations of politicians at home, others must be left to judge. But it is no less sad. There appears an absence of a body of principles upon which knowledge and convictions rest. Lack of intellectual integrity implies a lack of stability of

purpose, a fitfulness which leaves one to be borne hither and thither by the blasts of temporary opinion or by the forces of everlasting selfishness.

Fixed purpose based upon unqualified principle—the determination of courage—will not always win popularity. But that is a vain and fleeting thing. In an age of democracy, intellectual integrity is at a discount in world values. Yet the man of integrity knows that in the long run worth asserts itself; he is not swept off his feet by the popularity of the moment, for he knows that in the life of man one popular cry succeeds another with startling rapidity. He pursues relentlessly. Nor is he cast down because some policy or project in which he believes has failed. Rather is that a challenge.

Perhaps integrity has been weakened by the narrow distinctions, the cunning splitting of hairs and the constant assertion of half-truth in place of the whole truth and nothing but the truth which a certain type of politician and publicist so loves.

CHAPTER II

INDIA—ONE HUMAN PROJECTION

THE shifting panorama of the centuries reveals three separate and underlying forces which shape and direct the higher civilization. Two of these have a spiritual character, and one appears to be economic, although clearer vision will show that they all spring from a common source. These three forces are the religious philosophy, the state, and science, or better, scholarship.

Similar causes produce similar effects both in Europe and in India. Perhaps in these days we are witnesses of that lack of intellectual integrity, that political opportunism, that debasement of ethical ideals before Mammon which will find its Nemesis in the government suicide of which Voltaire spoke. All modern cults and notions which are opposed to the ancient philosophies of the Aryan rule must be regarded as the destroyers of human hope and liberty. Such concepts as Communism and the sublimation of National culture to an International order with a materialistic ideology will inevitably wreck all that is of value

in modern civilization, and will throw institutional life back to the Dark Ages. Aryan civilization remains the one supreme triumph of all human learning and endeavour. It has inspired the arts and crafts: it has contributed the richest philosophies. It has been the charter of all good human government. It is the unbreakable link between the East and the West.

Until British statesmen divest themselves of the fatal habit of judging things by Western standards alone they will never see them in their right perspective. It has been frequently asserted that, although India is a geographical entity excluded from the rest of the world by the seas which compass her shores and by the vast wall of mountains which trace themselves along her northern and western frontier, it was Britain which created of India a political entity. No greater fallacy can exist.

Just as one great force regulates the rainfall, so there has been transmuted from Nature herself throughout the thousands of years of Indian history a concept of social organization which bound, and yet binds, the people of India as one human projection.

There can be no understanding of India which separates religion from politics. There has been

a habit, also, to regard Hinduism, Mahommedanism and Buddhism as three entirely different states of thought, representing irreconcilable religious ideas. But there can be no greater error than to imagine that the communal differences of the present age, irritated by questions of philosophical dispute, sectarian dogma and the capacity of political expediency for playing-off one section against another, are irremovable. At root there are no differences: India is the great exemplar of the doctrine of the One in Many.

Disloyalty to the Aryan principles of conduct and to Aryan national ideas, which is not an uncommon trait in the character of both British and Indian politicians and publicists, renders a great disservice to the world. No constitution for India can hope for success which fails to recognize this unassailable Truth. To accentuate differences, possessed of no inherent value or reason, must be only to increase the difficulty of solution and to make impracticable the welding of divergent ideas to the service of the whole. To depart from the one Truth which alone gives unity will be to destroy all that more than six thousand years of human progress has contributed. This is a matter of education, almost of education alone. And if education cannot be identified with mere instruc-

tion, what is it? It must mean a gradual adjustment to the spiritual possessions of the race, with a view to realizing one's own potentialities and to assisting in carrying forward that complex of ideas, acts, and institutions which we call civilization.

The literature concerning modern India which comes under the observation of the Western world proceeds almost exclusively from the pens of those who for reasons of hereditary, traditional or Party affiliation, must be regarded as prejudiced. This book sets out to instruct, not from what is called experience but from analysis over a wide field. Herein there is a detached attempt to educate; and for that purpose we go to history.

It is an enthralling story, this one of Aryan dominance in India. Set against a background rich in topographical feature and with the widest variations of climate and ethnographic form, no story can compare with it. Included within the range of our vision are people of every pigmentation and embracing innumerable varieties of custom. The architectural and artistic triumphs of the epic Aryan era remain in all their resplendent and bewildering grandeur. The lives of more than 350 millions of people, however complex their civilizations, come under the influence of the majestic

mountains, the gigantic rivers and the great plains of their home land.

Long, long before the British Empire had begun to loom upon the horizon of civilization, that of India was hoary with antiquity. Yet, almost beyond the possibility of human research and remotely hidden in the archæological archives of our own race, we discover that there is an origin common to the culture both of the British people and of those of India. It is this culture which provides the unbreakable link between Indians and ourselves.

Considerations which are merely empirical may blind the observer to eternal verity. The very differences in complexion, clothing, daily habit and the commonplace may obscure the common origins of a cultural brotherhood, in whose blood and bones also there exists the common seed. Centuries before Christ we find that history of our common origin, not as a myth but as an historical truth, written in the Sumerian, Babylonian, Hittite, Egyptian, Grecian, Indian and Arthurian records. In contemplation of this fact, it is difficult to avoid the observation that the British connection with India must have its Divine sanction, for nothing is suffered to happen in Nature by caprice. And if in these days India suffers its upheavals, then who may doubt that the One who inspired the Aryan

philosophies is seeking in His own mysterious way to bring India back to the source of cultural progress among all His people ?

When politicians and publicists inform the people of Britain that it is the British people who have "civilized" India it is not true. The history of the Aryan domination makes it plain for all to see that if national art has any significance as an indication of the springs of human action, not even the greatest champion of British rule in India can claim that the monuments of British rule have attained to those of Akbar, himself a conqueror. This we have not yet achieved, either on the material or on the spiritual plane.

Of material things, we have to our service the record of the Mauryan Empire, government of high political sagacity and of extraordinary social and economic development. The revelation of Chandragupta's rule, commencing its epoch in 321 B.C. testifies to plans of social organization, of the development of irrigation, of road and river transport, of defence and the prevention of crime, of financial measures, of systems of taxation and encouragement of overseas trade, which compare favourably with the endeavour of any state of the modern world.

It is to the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-Hien, that we are

indebted for a study of India under the beneficent rule of Chandragupta. The India of the early centuries following the birth of Christ is fully described, also, by an impartial observer, when Hieuen-Tsang, the learned Chinese Master of Law, visited India in the seventh century. Neither claims to have been identified with Indian administration, but no Orientalist of repute disputes the merit of their observations and judgment for such a reason. The picture which Hieuen-Tsang provides again shows India enjoying the fruits of good government, its peoples contented and happy in their social organization, secure in their homes, conducting a flourishing trade.

We do not require the evidence of alien observers as a testimony to Indian attainments in the arts. The living memorials of Ellora, of Barwar, Saga, or of Elephanta speak eloquently of the heights to which culture had risen.

We find that the Mogul invaders adapted themselves to the Aryan culture and were absorbed by it. Greatest among them was Akbar, who combined in his own person an immense capacity for political administration as well as that of a spiritual leader.

In the realm of spiritual matters, India yet appraises spiritual values higher than worldly gifts.

And in this sphere we have as yet made scarcely any contribution.

No sympathetic student of the history of India can fail to be impressed by its unity in complexity, and by the conception of a single centralized India with an historic tradition of her own as a formative and uniting impulse.

The unity of India is vested in the Aryan origin of that formative and uniting impulse. Without the Aryan philosophic concept it is impossible to address ourselves to any intelligent solution of the problems of India.

Strange cults and customs have weakened what was original in the sublime ideology of Aryan philosophy. No faithful observer, whether Indian or British or that of any other national, will hesitate to confirm this observation. But because human nature under manifold stresses from its frailty has sometimes or in some things suffered decline, this provides no reason for a wholesale condemnation of the philosophies and essential system upon which all civilization is founded; and of which British culture subjected to different climatic and other influences is a branch.

The European cannot learn much of India from the kaleidoscope of its temple wonders and bazaar crowds. The former, through the presentation of

curious pictures, the symbolic Vedic meaning of which the Western mind can rarely assimilate, so often shock, while the myriad throng only serves to bewilder so that the European traveller often enough leaves India with a sense of stupefaction, mingled with disgust.

Nor is the disentanglement of the meaning of strange beliefs and observances rendered easier by the variations of approach and ritual. The religions of the East, and paramount is that of Hinduism, have been the slow product of the pious and poetic imagination. Both popular and a priestly tradition has defined and developed an ideal, the personification of nature or some legend of great men. It has been made an expression of men's aspiration and a counterpart of their need. The belief in individual and well-defined divinities is due to the intrinsic coherence and impressiveness of those deities. The many gods of India, ultimately, are neither a polytheism nor an idolatry at all, though many Europeans who have dwelt for years in India will probably at once reject this view.

Manifestations which constitute the evidence of God's actual existence can be regarded as manifestations of Him, rather than a vague unknown power, only when the imagination possesses a vivid picture of Him and of His appropriate functions.

The belief in the reality of an ideal personality brings about its further idealization. The many gods of Hinduism are but different facets of Absolute Truth. The Indian intellectual perceives clearly enough the relative nature of that which appears as truth to the masses of his less highly developed fellow-countrymen.

The God of religion must differ from that of metaphysics. That is sufficiently obvious. The intellectual can understand the merging, after death, of the individual into an infinite mind or some power analogous to it, which even most scientists believe probably exists behind nature. Yet it is beyond conception that a people upon whom knowledge has scarcely dawned possess any capacity whatever for the contemplation of the God of metaphysics. Illiterate people can only be addressed through forms and symbols, and the appeal to the emotional side of man—his religious inhibitions—can thus only be conveyed through the personal representation of the god. Truth is possessed of many facets. The "idolatry" of Hinduism may, therefore, well be but the varying view of Truth conveyed in forms intelligible to ignorant and usually unlettered peoples. Islam itself, the most simple and direct of all world religions, is possessed of varying viewpoints of the same Truth, though

by no means so complex as those of Hinduism. An intellectual mind experiences no overwhelming difficulty in its penetration of the Vedanta philosophy. Behind all stands the Deity, the One—*Logos*, the Word—Form, order, which was in the Beginning.

Such observations apply with equal force to the Christian conception of the sacred personalities. However descriptive of truth the common conception may be, it has evidently grown in the mind by an inward process of development. The reconstructed logical gods of the metaphysician are always offensive to the religious-consciousness, while the traditional conceptions of God are the spontaneous embodiment of passionate contemplation and of long experience.

The cult of Krishna, with its origin deep-rooted in the great epic of India, the Mahabharata, was absorbéd by the Vaishnarite theologians, who then evolved an idyll which seized the popular imagination. The Virgin Mary, whose legend is so meagre, but whose domination of the Catholic imagination is so great, serves as a further illustration of the truth. Krishna is the very incarnation of love, idealized into deity. The figure of the Virgin, illustrated in the great scenes of the Incarnation and of the Crucifixion, is capable of gradual

clarification until men come to the thought of her first as free from original sin and then of that of her universal maternity.

The Christian, but not Judaic, and Vedic conceptions, therefore, may well be facets of the same truth. Similarly, the Q̣uranic conception, with its doctrine of the unity of God, laying stress upon His power and beneficence as the Sustainer of the Universe, is another facet of this truth, certainly far more intelligible to people of no great intellectual ability than that of any other theology.

The fundamental difference, as it appears then, between the two great religions of India, and those between whom there has been age-long strife, may be ultimately far more a divergence of viewpoint upon dogma and the conception of the revelation of theological truth than it is an absolute philosophic separation. We are obliged to say, as it appears, for the great divergencies of ethical concept make themselves apparent through the economic construction of society, the caste system. Under Islam "there is absolute equality of prince and peasant, of rich and poor, of learned and unlettered, in the act of prayer, whether individual or in a concourse assembled for the purpose". Hinduism marshals its subjects into social strata

and stamps them there to eternity. Behind the immense structure of Hindu polytheistic appearance looms the God Omnipotent of the metaphysician, the same Universal Father of Islam, of Christianity and of Buddha, the God of all the world, whose Spirit is rested in Thyself.

CHAPTER III

THE EVIDENCE OF "EXPERTS"

THE great English historian, Green, whose "Short History of the English People" is recognized as a standard text work, in the opening chapter has noted the close correspondence between the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxon race and their Indo-Aryan brothers. This resemblance is readily discovered in names, words, systems of tribal and village organization, agricultural method; and it is amply sustained by literary and archaeological material. But it must be noticed that the civilization of India is far more ancient than that of the Anglo-Saxon race.

In order to understand the difficulty of the "Indian Problem", it should be realized that every "expert", with scarcely an exception, certainly nearly every one who occupies a place in the British public eye, accepts as the foundation of his views the superficial Anglo-India with which for twenty to forty years he had rubbed shoulders. The standard histories of India which provide the text works for British statesmen, and for generation

after generation of administrators, demonstrate a total misunderstanding of the Indian mind as it is expressed in the great monuments of Indian art.

It would be ungracious and invidious to select the names of any such "experts" and hold them up to any kind of reproach, for such names are those of men who for long and faithful service have well earned the esteem of their own countrymen. But this is not to say that, misunderstanding the ideas which inspire the mind, these "experts" are responsible for anything but a falsification of the most vital and informing historical truths.

Several distinguished Indian Civil Servants and high Military Officers since retirement have contributed recent works, seeking to shed light upon the Indian problem. For the most part, these are concerned with such comparatively trivial affairs as the upheavals of Amritsar, Cawnpore, and Midnapore; with the possible "working" of the Government system, termed Dyarchy; with the Communal Award; with the day-to-day exercise of vigilance by the police; or with what strikes the European mind as curious concerning the physical display emanating from Brahman ethical belief.

These things are nothing more than the flotsam and jetsam upon the surface of the single stream of Indian life. They omit the essentials to an

examination which it is suggested might well commence with an examination of the attitude of mind of the observer to its scene of investigation.

Not the least sinners in misleading the world outside India as to what is basic to the problem have been the missionaries of the Christian faith. Nor is it difficult to appreciate why this is so. The missionary is no missionary at all if he be not a fanatic for his faith. Fanaticism sometimes dazzles, sometimes clouds the reason. Moreover, the world of the missionary, by its very nature, especially in India, sees little beyond the seamy side.

Indians themselves may not always be better informed than the British "experts" who observe them; but no one can properly question the humiliation felt when they are constantly to be informed by their rulers that in political science India has never at any period in its history attained to the highest level of Europe.

As evidence of the failure to approach the Indian problem with any true insight, there are quoted hereunder excerpts from writings by those who in their more successful fields of contribution are regarded as men of wisdom and are held in high esteem.

There is no object in identifying their names. For our purpose it is sufficient to say that the first

is an authority upon Sociology, a prolific writer upon political and economic affairs and a man who holds high position in English industrial life, and through his Parliamentary connection has been called in as an "expert" upon various important Government Committees.

In a work devoted to India this "expert" states : "It was as traders, not as colonists or settlers, that the English went to India. Consequently the problem presented to an Imperial race by India is wholly different from that which the same people have to solve in their self-governing Dominions or in their Colonies proper. India is not a British Dominion, though some Indians aspire to 'Dominion status'. India is not, it never has been and never could be, a British Colony. A land teeming with a vast indigenous population could not, apart from climatic disqualifications, offer a field for the expansion of the English, or any other European race. The English East India Company was originally established solely to promote trade. Drawn irresistibly into the maelstrom of Indian politics the English gradually established their superiority over other European competitors and finally found themselves, almost as it seemed against their will, in a position of paramountcy among the Indian Powers. They remain

in India to-day as the latest of a long series of conquering invaders. They have given to India what none of their predecessors did, internal peace, eternal security, and an enlightened and superbly efficient administration. Nevertheless, it were affectation to deny, and dangerous to forget, that their power has rested, and rests, as did that of all their predecessors, upon the sword—not necessarily or solely upon the swords of Englishmen, but still upon a sword. If ever that sword be allowed to rust, dominion in India will pass to others who can wield it."

This statement with which the book of this authority opens, is not the whole truth. The final impression is a false one. It is not to suggest that the falsification is deliberate, but rather that it arises from Spiritual ignorance and from an incapacity on the part of the writer to divest himself of innate prejudice.

The Indo-Aryan rulers were faced with political, economic and social problems in many ways similar to those with which British statesmen and social reformers are struggling. The solution provided by the ancient Aryan rulers, according to all the evidence of history, was far more satisfactory to the people at large than any which the Western World up to date has discovered. During the long

centuries of Indo-Aryan rule there can be little doubt that the economic and political status of the Indian peasants was far higher than that of the English peasant of the Twentieth Century. It is certainly true that the English went to India as traders supporting the expansion of trade by the sword. It is equally true that the original Aryan invaders conquered India far more by an intellectual superiority and capacity for social organization than by the sword, though the military classes were held in high esteem. It is also true that those whose rule had relied upon the sword alone throughout all the long centuries of Indian history have been eclipsed.

A further authority, who has held one of the highest positions in the Government of India, in an important contribution to a great Encyclopædia scarcely veils his sneer at Indian culture. His whole attitude towards the problem is that of finance and commerce, while he adds, "If a general observation is permissible, it is that sentiment plays an excessive part in Indian politics." Is it possible that sentiment, that is, feeling or emotional disposition, can play too high a part in the reality of politics? Here is a man who, as it would seem, pretends to be a realist and who would propound a scientific programme based upon actualities. Thereby he

seems to declare a disloyalty to the Aryan principle, and demonstrates that he ignores the fundamental economic and social conditions by which a prudent and far-seeing state policy must be governed, and is blind to the things of everyday Indian life which have passed before his own eyes.

Another writer, who spent nearly half a century in India and held its highest military office, appears to have allowed the complex daily scene to impose superficial historical deductions upon the truths of historical fact. He shows towards the Indian peoples a mind sealed by Anglo-Indian conventional thought. And he terminates his book with the statement as follows: "Nevertheless despite the fact, which is well-known to all having even a rudimentary knowledge of India, that there is no sense of common interest between the various Indian peoples, who differ in race, religion and language, they insist that they all form the Indian nation."

A journalist of long Indian experience whose view is sympathetic with Indian aspirations so far seems to neglect what is vital to a consideration of the problem as to assert in a book contributed to the discussion, "that despite their essential differences of fundamental culture and of past civilizations they should be making an attempt to work

side by side for the peace of mankind." Historical evidence with all its force testifies to the common fundamental culture and identity of past civilizations of the races of India. It may be added of Great Britain and India.

The attitude of mind and testimony of four "experts" has been tested. First that of a prominent British politician, the second that of a distinguished Indian Civil Servant, the third that of a former Commander-in-Chief in India, the fourth that of a highly experienced British journalist in India; and to complete the picture provided by the "experts", the views of the English Principal of an Indian college should surely shed some light.

It may be suggested that in the realm of Education there is provided a singular opportunity for the study of the forces which are shaping the future of a Nation. Published in the close of the year 1933 is the Diary, the Reminiscences and Views of the Principal of a large University College in Central India. He dedicates his book to his daughter "Who was spared all this". It seems almost incredible that a man whose opportunity was so great, should himself appear so small, so hide-bound by the conventions of his own set, so completely devoid of the qualities of leadership, so insensible to the true functions of Education. "I

object to my clerks calling me 'Sir' in India ; they can learn to say 'Sahib' like anyone else." "I got hold of the Vice-Principal whose caste I have never discovered . . ." No comment is necessary.

He writes of a Deputation of the College Students in the following manner : "Poor, malicious, spiteful, frightened, snarling, cringing lads with pretty girlish faces. Instinct brought them out in the evening perhaps to tease a tired man. How can I tell? I had a bright idea. I wrote a chit and sent the College runner to the Club to fetch a bottle of champagne for dinner."

The wife of this Principal writes : "No community in the world is so persistently buoyed up by the thought of its retirement as the European Community in India. Yet there are thousands of English people who revel in life here." What is this Indian lure of which this English woman writes? She provides the answer : "The number of servants at which she may bark her orders, the number of elephants which by virtue of his position her husband is able to command, the fact that when she sweeps into the Club in her leopard skin coat she is almost certain to be the most important woman there. . . . Polo, pig sticking, shooting, games and dancing."

"To be persistently buoyed with the hope of retirement," cannot be too strongly condemned. This is nothing else than a confession of the rupee hunter, the time-server, the pension-getter. That the British character has sunk to these depths no more need be said. It is impossible to imagine any business corporation or any State being conducted successfully by servants of this type.

No one can possibly suggest that the evidence here provided is untypical of the kind of thought which permeates British officialdom in India. In the exclusive European Clubs invariably also the Indian is referred to as the "Wog". It is only some twenty years since all Indians in unofficial conversation were described as "niggers". Official disapproval of this contempt for colour—and after all the Indian, many of whose races possess Aryan origins, is not a negro—has supplanted the word "nigger" by the contemptuous description "Wise, Oriental Gentlemen", which more easily falls from the tongue in the more contemptuous form of "Wog".

There are a great number of books on India which have come under the writer's observation during the past year. Whether those he explored in research or those recently published, some of which he has reviewed, one only appears to show

a real understanding of the problem involved. Major-General J. F. C. Fuller is of course a distinguished Historian, but he is also a Philosopher. "India in Revolt", which has come under the writer's notice only since the publication of "Meteor", in which the foundation of "Arya" was laid, is worthy of most serious attention; and in this respect it is probably unique among recent publications on India.

Has a sovereign nation a moral personality or is it without any moral instincts and obligations whatsoever? For what purpose does British Government remain in India? Has it any aim beyond its own aggrandizement and the prosperity and amusements of its citizens?

If so, let us abandon this hideous pose, this mockery of what is British. Let us lead. If we have no other aim than sheer selfishness let us get out of India. For God's sake.

Here then we have the evidence of five typical "experts"; and we may well contemplate what will result from the advice which they will contribute to British statesmen as well as to the British electorate. The latter, totally ignorant of the problem, will be asked to pronounce its verdict upon the solution of the problem.

The British Empire will be ill served if British

statecraft in India is to be based upon historically false premises. It will be a calamity if India's present Aryan rulers continue either to misunderstand or to ignore the political ideals and methods by which the great men of our own race made the people of India accept Aryan domination as the greatest of divine blessings. ✓

Every conceivable explanation of unrest, dissatisfaction and disorder which prevail throughout the world has been proposed except the one which is probably the deepest and most important. For a period long before the World War, the modern world has been in a state of intellectual upheaval, although there are those who think that this condition was caused by the Great War itself. This upheaval has grown constantly more widespread and more severe. The forces that lie behind it have profoundly affected the religious and philosophic life of great masses of men, have shaken their confidence in age-old principles of private morals and transactions and of public policy, and have left them blindly groping for guiding principles to take the place of those which have lost their hold.

Man's own emotions and his own appetites being present and immediate, take precedence in the shaping and conducting of a policy, over any

body of principles built up by the experience of others. The wisdom, the justice, the morality of an act or policy are then tested solely by its immediate results and these results are increasingly measured in terms of the material satisfaction of the moment. In all their struggles, the Aryan races set spiritual values above all else; and in so doing their glowing historical record throughout thousands of years of history establishes the truth without any kind of qualification whatsoever that peace, contentment, material prosperity ensued. In so far as the Aryan races have departed from their ancient ideals, to this extent has the cultural movement been backward and not forward. So long as the Aryan peoples have clung relentlessly to the ideology which inspires and unites them, their advance has been from one peak of material and cultural triumph to another.

There is nothing inherently baffling in the Indian problem. On the contrary, the Indian heritage itself supplies the solution. It is one thing to have won India by the sword, it is quite another to keep it by the sword. The conception that India can be held by material force is opposed to all the teachings of thousands of years of history. Something more is required. Something more vital, something which embodies the eternal

principles of all Indian culture. This is nothing other than the Aryan philosophic concept.

True learning, and knowledge gotten from research is not in these days popular. There is a revolt against the influence of those who know. The democratic expression is the passionate cry of the ignorant for power. A casual impression gained from reading some haphazard newspaper headlines is greatly preferred to real knowledge. The ruling passion just now is not to know and to understand, but to get ahead, to overturn something, to apply in ways that bring material advantage some bit of information, or some acquired skill. The prevailing tendency is to measure everything in terms of self-interest. Economic explanations of the conduct of individuals, of groups, and of nations—that is, explanations based upon desire for gain or love of power—are sought rather than explanations based upon intellectual or ethical foundations.

The civilization based upon self-interest rather than upon intellectual and moral principle will swiftly lapse into the barbarism out of which it has come.

The underlying condition essential to human happiness is progress in the power to produce. Unless that power to produce is the outgrowth of

understanding, of mastery of principles, of knowledge of past achievement, and of insight into high and lasting purpose, it will not accomplish anything desirable or permanent. The question is, will India be satisfied to permit the imposition of a materialistic culture, or will India rally once more, perhaps even in revolt, to the ancient Aryan philosophies which during many centuries have produced contentment?

If the answer to the question is that Great Britain is to continue to accentuate materialistic pressure, while ignoring spiritual values, then no further observations are here necessary. It would be a safe prophecy in such circumstances to say that Great Britain will loose its Indian Empire. The binding link will have been broken.

But if the contrary, then it requires very careful examination to discover just where and in how far the governmental system which we have introduced and evolved fails to respond to the real desires of the heart of the Indian peoples.

Stated frankly, the situation which confronts the British people to-day is due to lack of moral principle. New statutes may be needed. But statutes will not put moral principle where it does not exist. The greed for gain and the greed for power have blinded men to the time-old distinction

between right and wrong. This new triumph of mind over morals is bad enough in itself. But when, in addition, its exponents secure material gain and professional prosperity it becomes a menace to our integrity as a people. Against this casuistry of the counting-house and of the law office; against this subterfuge and deceit, real character will stand as a rock. Character, and character alone makes knowledge, skill and wealth a help rather than a harm to those who possess them and to the community as a whole.

Let us frankly recognize that in the attitude of British administrators to their Indian charge there is much which is mean and worthless, much which is vicious which might well be displaced by honest virtue: that the mere time-server has no place in the modern world: and that traditions and customs which lack the essential quality of inspiration are ridiculous trappings: that personal example in the human field is of infinitely higher value than is statistical efficiency: that the true service of government reaches right down into every detail of corporate life: that the moral, mental and physical segregation of a governing community perpetuates and exaggerates all the worst features of the social life of those governed: that self-examination should precede the condemnation of others.

The day was in India when it could be said of Englishmen that they were incorruptible: and this was amid intense temptation. It may be doubted if such a verdict is as true to-day as it was. There have been whispers of pearls as presents, of wads of rupees with which to cement a contract, and of other things. Even do some men boast openly of perquisites of office and of favours received. In India temptation has always been strong: for the East has no great regard for the refinements of commercial practice and for the standards of public office. •

The world itself, too, is receiving some painful lessons in practical ethics. There is being brought home to it, with severe emphasis, the distinction between character and reputation. A man's true character may be in sharp conflict with his reputation which is the public estimate of him. The Twentieth Century has opened with reputations melting like snow before the sun; and the sun in this case has been publicity. Men who for years have been trusted implicitly by their fellows and so placed in positions of both honour and of grave responsibility are seen to be mere reckless speculators with the money of others and petty pilferers of the savings of the poor and needy.

Integrity will not be deceived by fraud and

hypocrisy appearing before it in the garb of honesty and frankness ; nor will it be misled by selfishness, crying in imitation of the stern voice of duty. There is no substitute for integrity : money will not buy it. It is one of man's most precious possessions and it will be sought by high-minded and confident men with all the earnestness and vigour of their being.

CHAPTER IV

MATERIAL OR MORAL

THOUGH, as has been suggested, there may have been in the past a wealth of ignorance among those responsible for the administration of India, it is nevertheless true that subconsciously they have been generally animated by that same love of justice and the same high principles of conduct and respect for humanitarian purpose which guided the ancient Aryan statesman and law-givers in their relations with the Indian masses.

That is because usually unconsciously and in ignorance British administrators have subscribed to the Aryan philosophy which in them has exerted the strongest hereditary influence. The time has come when the administrators of India shall clearly understand that in the wake of the disloyalty to the Aryan principle will come revolution and anarchy: that if they will gird themselves anew with the knowledge and teachings of the great philosophies upon which the highest civilization of mankind is founded, then they will be truly endowed with the gifts of leadership. Such leader-

ship is the need of the hour. It will carry India to heights never previously known in its history: it will bring the people in adoring gratitude to the feet of those who, setting aside material advantage, have re-secured themselves in the Truths from which progressive civilization flows.

Politicians and publicists are still using the same jargon about European affairs which led up to and produced the Great War. Does anyone imagine that those whose minds are so completely fixed when viewing the affairs of the West are capable of standing on one side, with independence of viewpoint, when they turn to the Orient?

Lord Chatham, speaking in 1775, maintained "the alliance of God and Nature, immutable, eternal, fixed as the firmament of Heaven".

Edmund Burke in the same year declared: "There is no such thing as governing the whole body of the people contrary to their inclination. Whenever they have a feeling they commonly are in the right. . . all human losses are, properly speaking, only declaratory; they may alter the mode and application, but have no power over the substance of original justice."

If it is to be maintained that the beginning and the end of British association with India is the expansion of British trade, and that Britons have

no higher functions to perform in association with the Indian peoples than to keep them in a sufficiently peaceful state while that exploitation goes on, then quite plainly we have reached the beginning of the end.

To resist oppression is to make a league with Heaven and all things are oppressive that resist the natural order of freedom. For society secures rights: it neither bestows nor restricts them. Society is founded not on the will of man, but on the Nature of Man and the Will of God; and conformity to the divinely appointed order is followed by inevitable reward. Relief of those who suffer is the duty of all men and the affair of all. Thus is briefly summarized the Vedic code of ethics. It is opposed, root and branch, to the materialistic concept. The Indian problem is being discussed in a jargon which pays no heed whatever to the fundamental principles which underlie the good government of human beings and which are fundamental to the eternal verities.

The problem is to relate the new to the old, and, without dogma or intolerance, to point to the lessons taught by the developing human spirit from its first blind gropings towards the light on the uplands of Asia, through the insight of the world's great poets, artists, scientists, philosophers,

seers, and statesmen, to its highly organized institutional and intellectual life of to-day. Be it noted that in this recitation of the kind of people who have carried human culture and civilization from one peak of progress to another, there is not included, and there cannot be included, the financiers, market riggers, and commercial highwaymen, who, as can be well observed, unless subordinated to a functional position in civilization, or perhaps better eliminated entirely therefrom, will prove the destroyers of civilization itself. Judaic materialism stands condemned.

Political dialectics and Party jockeying cannot solve the Indian problem. It is by far the greatest problem in the world of to-day. It touches all civilization at its very roots.

Herein is a challenge to the attitude which the British people will take up upon any great public question of the future. The Indian problem cannot be measured or seen in its proper perspective from the narrow and isolated spot upon which the Party politicians stand. Only the largest and bravest spirits can resist an instinctive tendency to hasty and crude philosophizing. To see the Indian problem in its true perspective, the observer must be a free man. The free man is he who has a largeness of view which is unmistakable and which

permits him to see the other side ; who possesses a knowledge of the course of man's intellectual history and its meaning and a grasp of principles and a standard for judging them ; who has the power and habit of reflection firmly established, a fine feeling for moral and intellectual distinction, and the kindliness of spirit and nobility of purpose which are the support of genuine character.

It is he who believes that the languages, the literatures, the art, the science, the institutions and the philosophies of those historical peoples who have successively occupied the centre of the stage on which the great human drama is being acted out, are full of significance for the world of to-day. He is not weighed down by books, by statistics, or by the views which the Sophists have given. He is not a recluse, or unfit for practical work because he knows that every opportunity for action passed by is a loss of power.

It is imperative in this age that statesmen shall re-Orient their minds. The Nation, as we know it in the West, is a relatively modern institution. The ancient Western world knew nothing of nations, as we conceive the term. The unit of political organization in the ancient Western world was the City-State. The City, Athens, Sparta, Thebes, Carthage, Rome, was the State. It possessed

colonies and dependencies, no doubt, but the City was the heart, the head, the centre of it all. Out of the City-State there came the conception of a single world empire under the dominion of Rome. The Roman Empire broke and fell for reasons beyond the scope of these observations. What is important to understand is that the world nations of to-day are modern institutions in so far as they occur in the West; but they respond to the greatest, most remarkable and most influential ideals that have ever seized hold of the human mind.

The nation of to-day is a projection of the human race equivalent to the nations of the Aryan age. Scientific invention, the marvels of speedy transport and communication, have changed the outward and visible signs of the nations of the Aryan era. The ancient philosophies which under Aryan rule dominated all material considerations are as valuable to-day in the governance of human organization and as expressing the happiness of mankind as they were in the epic age of the Aryan rulers.

Our failure to understand the Indian problem and to achieve a solution out of the ever-widening complexities involved in purely material considerations is vested definitely and finally in our

ignorance of the history of the peoples with whose governance we are entrusted, and in a disdain and even contempt for the philosophies which constitute the Indian outlook on life.

So long as only material considerations are to govern the root thought of those who, point by point, are contesting the Indian constitution, so long will there be exhibited an increasing cleavage between the interests of the British and of the Indian peoples. Great Britain rules India by the sword. The question may be, for how much longer can Great Britain rely upon the loyalty of its sword? In the earlier history of the Indian peoples, no conqueror relied on the sword alone. On the contrary, material force took a position second to that of intellectual superiority and to philosophy. The "experts", great Indian Civil Servants and soldiers, point to the stagnation and anarchy which they say will ensue from making concessions in India. The British Government itself, so far as may be judged from the guarded statements of its Ministers, has no faith in what it proposes, but is offering something to India, under Safeguards, guided in its concessions by the same kind of mind which characterizes the squabbles between Capital and Labour, the bargaining between political Parties and the bickerings of the market-place.

Let those who have eyes to see, ears to hear, and intelligence to understand take notice that there will be no solution of the greatest human problem in the world to-day which is based upon material considerations.

If they will be true to Aryan ideals, British statesmen of the future are possessed of an opportunity, perhaps unequalled in the history of our race. It is Britons, those of Aryan origin, who, better than any other, can re-infuse the spirit of unity into that India which historically is the supreme exemplar of unity in complexity. All else is secondary to this consideration.

Since all time, India has been one human projection. One thing alone remains in order that India shall attain to heights which even in the great age of its earlier Aryan rulers have not been reached. What is this one thing? It is from the understanding of the sovereignty of the Indian peoples, our Indo-Aryan brothers, whose sovereignty is vested in God-given philosophies, shared mutually, that the high destiny of India and of the British people in harmony with Indians shall be attained.

The idea which should be grasped and realized is that a nation is a moral person responsible in its conduct towards others and with the duties

that always and everywhere accompany its rights. Is there anywhere in the literature of the world, in the writings of philosophers, in the orations of statesmen, any statement which more clearly defines the duties, rights and conduct of man and of nations than the ancient Aryan philosophies ?

History tells us, in clear, eloquent and unmistakable terms, that the upward march of human civilization is based not upon material conceptions, but upon the higher philosophies. The march of human progress has time and again reaffirmed this truth. The Seers, the spiritual leaders of all time, attest to this truth, Buddha, Mahomet, Sophocles, Christ ; all those of the ancient world, of the medieval ages and those of the most recent era of world history affirm the evidence.

In terms of time, only yesterday, it seemed that the civilized states of the world had recognized that human sacrifices counted for more than all else. To-day, forgetting the lessons of the past, the only consideration appears to be that of materialistic advantage.

If ever India required men, it requires men to-day. The spring of India beckons : the youth which must come and take the leadership in solving the problems of to-morrow calls. Reflexion is necessary. To think clearly and straight is

not easy. Clear thinking implies trained powers of observation, analysis and experience, and a balance between intellect and emotion which is hard to discover. Clear thinking implies, too, a detachment which holds passion at arm's length while opinion is forming, although warmth of feeling has its place in the subsequent expression of conviction.

If man is to continue steadfast, there must be something in which he believes and for which he believes steadfastness to be a virtue. That is the answer to the false teaching that there are no principles, that everything merely happens, and that life and history are like the meaningless play of a derelict hulk, drifting helplessly on the moving tides of a restless ocean. If the beauties and interests of India yet lure any man, steadfast duty urges with all its surest conviction. A feeling of brotherhood must be fostered, a National, as opposed to a Communal spirit, must be engendered. Some rallying point, something definite and defined, must occupy the central position, be the focus point of the idealism which finds its resurgence and regeneration.

From among the gods of many villages, from worldly ambition, from the yearning for sublime Reincarnation and for Paradise, from half-formed

beliefs, from the shadowy fears and the dim hopes of youth some Universal God must be fashioned as the corporate ideal. Thyself, The Inward Ruler.

The gods whom men love and adore are the ideal of their own hearts, the construction of an ever-present personality, living and intimately understood.

CHAPTER V

INDIAN THOUGHT-STRUCTURE

AFTER a careful and wide study of works contributed by Members of the Indian Administration and of Army, only one conclusion can be reached. It is that with complete unanimity these experts of Indian administration have adapted themselves to a viewpoint of political policy dictated either by superficial historical observation or by a traditional governmental attitude towards all Indian problems, perhaps both.

They have pursued the letter of the Queen's Proclamation of 1857, without insisting that historically the government and the philosophy of India are inseparable. Further, for reasons deeply ingrained in Christian Church orthodoxy, these experts, drawn as they have been exclusively from families possessed of the strongest Church ties, view both with mystification and usually with repulsion the view of Life, symbolically and most frequently to the Western mind crudely or repulsively suggested in the visible expression of Hinduism.

Whereas the early Christian Church, for amazingly obtuse and certainly for illogical reasons, decided to make of sex—life's reproduction—Love—a thing abhorrent—throughout the whole of its uninterrupted history, the philosophic concept of the Vedas has exalted Life as being the outward and visible sign of the continuity of the Deity, and of which love is the highest expression. The experts charged with the government and administration of India for reasons of prejudice, have therefore found themselves as bitter critics of the only governmental system, the one which imparts all social order and custom, understood by the Indian mind. Not only are these experts observed as censorious critics, but they are seen also in physical segregation, hedged in by their own prejudices and beliefs, and pursuing a policy based upon a culture which is an enigma to the masses of India, and which is wholly out of sympathy with the aspirations of the peoples' Government. This segregation of Government is betrayed in such trivial but nevertheless intensely annoying customs as the exclusiveness of British social and sports clubs to which no Indians are admitted, and the seclusion of British cantonment life. It is not suggested that for reasons of health and hygiene such segregation from bazaar life may not be often

desirable. But the point to press is that the aloofness of officialdom is rooted in a traditional misunderstanding of the Indian mind.

A very highly placed Indian Civil Servant recently published a large work surveying the problems of India in which we find such expressions as "the foul Deities of the Hindu Pantheon", while another even greater authority informs us that "the Hindus are seeking an escape from the labyrinth of sensual polytheism". If there is one thing which the Hindu religion is not, it is that as a philosophy of conduct what is sensual, that is of the senses, is not imposed upon what is of the mind. And by the mind there is not implied merely the brain or the brain taken as a part of the physiological structure of the whole man. Hinduism is essentially a religion of the spirit, itself the soul (Atman) which is conceived of as being apart from the body and as using the brain as its instrument.

In order to understand what Indian Nationalism really means and to appreciate its irresistible forces, it is necessary to expound the main principles of the Vedic philosophy. To attempt this briefly presents a difficult task. Nevertheless, in order that the Western mind shall understand the social polity and religious discipline, or thought motivity, which finds its resurgence among 330 millions

of people, it is essential to present the broad considerations from which alone solutions of Indian problems can come.

There can be no over-emphasis in the definition of Indian Nationalism as a projection of thought, common to all India. The mystification which surrounds much that to the Western mind appears as wholly inexplicable will begin to yield once the phenomenon of Indian Nationalism is thus understood.

Those who first approach the considerations of the Indian scene with all its apparently bewildering varieties of race and custom, and who are obsessed with the superficial idea of variety, must fail from the beginning to be able thereafter to comprehend. They will be deprived of any true basis as a foundation for future construction. All else will prove ephemeral, theoretic and false.

Indian Nationalism is.

Indian Nationalism, as it were, is external to racial and communal values, yet all communities throughout India are directly subject to its power. Such nationalism, for a variety of causes, may have been latent for centuries: but it has never been absent. It is the warp and woof of the entire pattern of Indian life.

The physiological structure which differentiates

one race from another is obvious. Nevertheless too much importance can be attached to physiological variety alone. Families which have migrated from their original homeland will within two or three generations produce human varieties very different from the indigenous stock. This is a matter of common observation and the changes are brought about by climate and various ethnographical influences. In the comparatively short history of America and Australia, already there are definite physical signs of distinct races, the Americans for example reverting to the type of the American Indian with such pronounced features as the beak nose, high cheekbones and hatchet-shaped face. The sun within a few short years, even months, will pigment the exposed body to the deepest brown. The Western Jews have become pale, those of Equatorial Africa are black, those of Asia varying in their pigmentation with that of the races among whom they live.

The dominant force which controls and directs each race is to be found within its thought structure. It is this structural formation of the thought-life which contributes to Nationalism not only its identity but also its visible tempo, its actions and reactions.

In passing, an obvious commentary is established

in its truth, namely that a nation, and all that is implied by the word nation, will be deflected, even arrested, in its cultural life, by the introduction, injection, infusion, imposition of an alien thought-structure. This requires frequent emphasis, for an obvious question frames itself. Has India gained from the deflection brought about by Western materialistic impositions? Do not Lord Chatham and Burke supply the answers? "There is no such thing as governing the whole body of the people contrary to their inclination?" Does not revolt in India echo its confirmation?

Then it comes to this, that a superficial glance at India serves only to mislead: that there can be no understanding of the Indian problem with all its apparent contradictions, its violences and passive resistances, its growing tension, without a general appreciation of the nature of India's basic thought-structure. And to begin to understand it is a solution of most of the Indian problems—because knowledge opens the mind to the only possible road to solution.

It would not be practicable to take the reader through the difficult exercises of assimilating even the main doctrines known as the *Varnashrama Dharma* which are based upon the teaching of the Vedas. These doctrines, or better defined as

revelations, are possessed of no known origin. Since thousands of years before Christ they are written in the *Sanskrit* and appear under several main tracts of thought, the most important of which are the *Vaisheshika*, the *Nyaya*, the *Vedanta*, *Upanishads*, *Puranas*, which though they may sometimes appear to present opposed philosophic ideas are in fact correlative.

"Hinduism," as it is now generally called, is the common denominator of Indian Nationalism. But in fact "Hinduism" is a misleading term, for it suggests the established divisions of dogma and of community which separate political Hinduism from political Islam, from the Sikhs and from the Buddhists and from other racial and religious divisions in India.

Hindu philosophy falls into two broad divisions. Firstly, it is a rational demonstration of propositions of duty. Quite shortly, it is the conception of what a man should or should not do in order to realize happiness in any state of specific existence. Secondly, it is a rational demonstration in regard to those truths concerning the fundamental nature of things which men mostly realize by direct experience in order to be freed from suffering and to acquire independence, or liberty.

Throughout the main divisions, or schools of

thought, in Hinduism there are three main divisions, not mutually contradictory, but forming three great standards suited to different types or grades of mind, that is different intellectual capacities and temperaments.

If we pause for a moment and consider the variations, or schools of thought, within the Christian Church, we find precisely the same tendencies—from the contemplation of the Christian philosophy and Trinity of deities as being something exclusively metaphysical down the scale of intellectual understanding to the presentation of the Christian deities in the form of carved idols.

The Western mind approaches the proposition of metaphysical truth from an angle diametrically opposed to that of the Hindu. The Western mind asserts that metaphysical truths are based upon faith and are therefore in the realm of speculation. It denies that man may know metaphysical truth like any other truth, by direct experience. The Hindu philosophy is vested in the knowledge, not belief or speculation, that there have been men in the past who by direct experience of metaphysical truth have known the whole truth of man's nature and existence as well as that of the Universe as a whole. The men were the "perfected Seers", known as the Rishis, and from direct experiences

the Rishis have taught metaphysical truth to the Hindus through the Vedas. Curiously, the agnostic-scientist, C. E. M. Joad, apart from political interpretations which may be faulty, seems to reach the same scientific conclusions, in the realm of metaphysics, as does Radhakrishnan, the eminent Hindu philosopher. The function of philosophy is to expound and interpret metaphysical truth : it is not to make discoveries.

This basic thought seems to be corroborated by the most modern scientific investigation and discovery. Leaving dogma, ritual, habit-thought, prejudice, worldly interpretation on one side, it certainly appears that the teachings of Jesus Christ are a further revelation of those of the Rishis whom he succeeded. Jesus claimed the God in Him ; Christians claim Divinity for Him. No theologian appears ever satisfactorily to have defined and expounded the mystery of the Trinity, except that the Trinity is the One, a concept already held as the beginning and end of the Vedic teaching. Jesus asserted always His spiritual mission as opposed to the gross materialism of His age and race ; while every word of the gospels may be interpreted to declare that man himself is omnipotent and eternal and that Jesus Christ Himself is the Way, the Light, the perfected Seer, the

perfected Seer of His age. His message may be rationally interpreted that by direct experience man can know metaphysical truth. :

Jesus Himself was man. That is fundamental to the Christian concept. That for various reasons the early Christian priests explained the birth of Jesus as the Immaculate Conception is perhaps the primary reason why the Christian philosophy appears so divergent from the Hindu. Jesus Christ Himself never taught an Immaculate Conception, for which there appears no possible reason throughout His teaching. In passing, it is curious to observe that Immaculate Conception is not unknown to Hinduism, for the Tantrik Doctrine of Immaculate Conception is within the range of Hindu metaphysical belief. The only apparent fundamental difference between what Jesus taught and what is taught in Hinduism is that there is no irretrievable purgatory for man, that man is not irrevocably outcast. So, also, in the teaching of the Sikhs, themselves an offshoot of Hinduism. Even here again it does not appear to be the Vedas which insist upon irretrievable untouchability, but the interpretation placed upon them by Hindu sacerdotalism. Hinduism is the belief, supported by the evidence of knowledge and experience, that man himself is possessed of the

elements of God. With this concept in mind, therefore, the materialism of the West, with its assessment of all values in terms of objects, wealth and possessions, is wholly repugnant.

The armies of Hindu nationalism, generation after generation, march on. Throughout history its progress has been sometimes strong and sometimes deflected from its course, halting and falling by the wayside.

Now that the forward march is again a visible event, nothing remains other than that British constructive leadership, possessed of the Aryan idealistic concept, shall lead that army to the realization of a higher social polity and cultural discipline than it has ever known before.

The world is at last beginning to realize that the material problem is not one of production, but of financial technique. The fatal destiny that makes human misery eternal is no longer of nature but of man. It is due to ignorance, and the ignorance of the well-to-do rather than of the poor. The change has been so swift that there are no schools that do not merely mirror their own antediluvian preconceptions to which rulers and leaders can be sent to learn. Poverty that was due to natural scarcity and to famine has been replaced by a

worse—the poverty if not due to over-abundance of wealth, due to ignorance and archaic conceptions of the nature of wealth. Unemployment and trade depression threaten whole classes of workers. The production of commodities is restricted for fear the producers may lose their means of livelihood. The iron law of natural scarcity has been broken, but the spectres of poverty and destitution continue to haunt a world glutted with wealth; and starvation to-day is due, not to shortage, but to abundance.

There is a remedy. Civilization itself is undergoing the most acid test it has ever experienced, the test of real wealth—not the relative wealth of the few compared with the many which brought down earlier historic civilizations—to transpose power from Money to Production is the only hope.

These things must be taught because of their significance, social and psychological, ethnographic and geographical, economic, spiritual and cosmic.

And if the position of power be thus transposed there follows that the mystic authority falsely ascribed to gold shall be transmuted in human and communal valves. This is the position asserted by the Vedic philosophies. To Judea the material-

istic concept is the only reality. To Judea the Vedas are anathema, as destructive of the Jewish world-power dream as is the rigid Islamic code. Where stands Christianity? Its position seems to support the god of gold, itself the god of Judea.

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CHAPTER VI

THE ONLY POSSIBLE ROAD

“ON the day that I went to the India Office,” said Sir Samuel Hoare,* “I realized that most of the problems with which I was faced were almost insoluble.”

It must always be borne in mind that Indian Nationalism is a revolt of an ancient and sacrosanct culture against the corroding effects of Western Civilization and of modern materialism. This is the one inescapable fact. There can never be any over-emphasis of this all-pervading political reality.

Remorseless logic must teach, then, that the materialistic approach to the Indian scene is no solution for its problems. A grave criticism of the present attitude of British statesmen in home and European affairs is that they permit materialistic—there is no suggestion of realistic—considerations to overshadow all other judgments. Comparison and analysis of historical events are vital to good judgment.

The guiding philosophy which underlies minis-

*Secretary of State for India, 1931-33. Statement in the House of Commons, 27th March, 1933.

terial action is of far greater importance eventually than any solitary diplomatic or governmental act or even series of such acts.

The European scene and Ministerial activity therein proclaims not only the intellectual pre-occupations of the British Government but also how Ministers may be expected to "range" themselves in approaching the Indian problem. The certain fact remains that the "habit-thought" of Ministers upon one question of public policy must equally be that upon all.

Then it follows logically that a Government, and men who approach the Indian scene in the same attitude and subject to the same influences which characterize their attitude to the European complex, can only intensify the strain and evolve fresh hostility. Britain in Europe is preoccupied with objects and possessions unfortunately almost to the complete exclusion of any other real issue. The most striking feature of the Indian problem is its idealistic phenomena.

This view is fundamental to the whole problem. Loyalty to the Aryan ideal is the first condition of any solution of the Indian problem. The Aryan ideal transcends all communal differences. The Aryan ideal is the focus of all that is beautiful and worthy in Indian history and customs. To

emphasize only the abuses and degraded customs of India which so often appear is to evade truth. There is sufficient ugliness and falsity in the European political picture. To stress what may be hideous is to suggest also that in India itself there is no cultured opinion which is not equally repelled by the material lapse from the high estate of Aryan culture.

The Aryan ideal is the focus, the only focus, for the All-Indian ideal. The Aryan ideal is the only basis of the All-India concept. Here, wherein all races, septs, clans, tribes, castes, religions, colours, acquire immediate equality, is the only area which contributes to the British race any possibility, or indeed any right, by which to contribute towards the solution of the Indian problem. The Aryan ideal is the solution. The Aryan ideal is the one unifying force. Once this essential idea is grasped, all else will follow.

Government from the beginning seems to have suffered from some fatal obsession. Or is it not rather the fact that the role of government has evolved, as Nature herself would inevitably demand? And is it not clear that British statesmen and administrators have failed to observe that, as with the flower, something further is demanded beyond natural, purely scientific, economy?

It is obviously impracticable here to make any exhaustive study of Indian history, nor is it possible to bring forward anything but fragmentary evidence.

The points from modern Indian history and the recitation from authority here given are typical. They have not been chosen as a special plea with which to prove a case, biased on one side or the other. The objective here is to show that there is no solution of the Indian problem except in the light of history and then only by an understanding of the psychological and metaphysical factors involved.

"We do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure."

So ran the Queen's Proclamation of December 2, 1858. But it is not to be doubted that the repugnance felt by the British administrators to the cruelty and corruption which surrounded them, made them blind to the truths which they might have discovered! "To abstain from interference" is the point to stress. To lead, to co-operate, do not interfere. They enable.

However great may be our sympathy with the

rising spirits of Indian nationalism, based as it is upon the hereditary and the ancient Aryan civilization, we cannot permit enthusiasm for a new order to blind us to the outstanding incidents of more recent Indian history.* Nor can there be any doubt that it is these incidents which, as they must, so often prejudice the sympathy of almost every living administrator, be he Civil Servant, Soldier, Police or Merchant.

Lord Macaulay, who, with a liberal mind might be expected to view Indian history, writing in 1840 of the "Black Hole of Calcutta", describes it in the following words, "Nothing in history or fiction, not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night." Writing in his memorable essay upon Lord Clive he thus describes Clive's attitude to the Indians among whom the great Administrator found himself. "He (Clive) knew that the standard of morality among the natives of India differed widely from that established in England. He knew that he had to deal with men destitute of what in Europe is called honour, with men who would give any promise without hesitation, and break any promise without shame, -

with men who would unscrupulously employ corruption, perjury, forgery, to compass their ends. His letters show that the great difference between Asiatic and European morality was constantly in his thoughts. He seems to have imagined, most erroneously in our opinion, that he could effect nothing against such adversaries, if he was content to be bound by ties from which they were free, if he went on telling truth, and hearing none, if he fulfilled, to his own hurt, all his engagements with confederates who never kept an engagement that was not to their advantage. Accordingly this man, in the other parts of his life an honourable English gentleman and a soldier, was no sooner matched against an Indian intriguer, than he became himself an Indian intriguer, and descended, without scruple, to falsehood, to hypocritical caresses, to the substitution of documents and to the counterfeiting of hands." Macaulay himself possessed many years of Indian experience.

His may be no compliment to Clive though the Summary does not discount from Clive's reputation as a realist. But assuredly it is a fearful condemnation of the India of Indian rule 150 years ago. Nor is it an exaggeration to suggest that Macaulay's sketch was characteristic of the India of the days whose memory has been handed from father to

son as members of the Indian Civil Service. During the one hundred years which followed the student is a witness of recurrent wars in which British arms are engaged. Taken at the lowest estimate Britain sought trade expansion only. But it is no less true that the battles which British arms contested were waged against predatory Nabobs and Rajahs to whom all else but their own wealth and its aggrandizement had ceased to matter. There remained upon this scene of oppression, raid and rapine, not a glimmer of the light shed by the great ideals of the ancient Aryan leaders, the men who were at once Conquerors, Soldiers, Philosophers and Seers. Years rolled on. The century after the "Black Hole of Calcutta" terminated with the Indian Mutiny and the horror of Cawnpore.

If Calcutta wrung from Macaulay the verdict that this "great crime is memorable for its singular atrocity", the butchery of Cawnpore is a crime, not eclipsed in modern history except by the mass slaughters by the Russian Bolsheviks. Less than eighty years have passed since 1857, in which the cries of nearly one thousand women and children fell upon the deaf ears of their murderers, who according to a witness thronged to view the slaughter. Where in that grim horror, characteristic as it was of the events throughout all India during

the Mutiny, might be found the spirit of "Him, who is Thyself, the Inward Ruler, the Deathless?"

Is not this the moment to restate the whole case? The moment in which all that is best in the Humanness of British and Indian Statemanship shall co-operate together upon the high plane of the Aryan ideal. Nothing but tragedy will emerge from materialistic hickerings.

In the evolution of human ideas, a curious cycle is observable. Tendencies and beliefs which have been rejected as harmful or reactionary tend to reappear, sometimes in a new guise, with all the freshness of youth, and they are then acclaimed by those unfamiliar with their history as evidence of the advancement of civilization. If the study of history were more vital, and if it showed ideas, tendencies and institutions in their unfolding and orderly development, and if the lessons of history so studied were really learned, the world would be saved an infinite amount of loss, of suffering and of discouragement.

For generations men have been seeking the means to throw off the trammels which were found to hamper them at every turn and to hem them in on every side. There has grown up throughout the world, but especially in India, an incredibly widespread belief in the value of regulations and

restrictions, not only as a substitute for liberty, but directly in opposition to it. It may be that the strict disciplines of the Moslem and the Caste-regulated life of the Hindu made it an easier task for British administrators to impose a great police state in India with its countless caveats, than to conceive of some other form of state in which leadership would be the watchword and wherein liberty itself might begin to ease traditional restrictions and bend the outgrowth of oppression in Caste, without destroying what is fundamentally righteous and effective in the system.

Rather than make human individuality the corner-stone and foundation of the edifice of Government, there have been imposed fresh restrictions and tyrannies which serve only to illustrate those which are of inherent growth. Those who make and maintain the Government of India are not permitted to be interested in leadership, even if they would be, and they are responsible to no one but themselves.

Each individual within the Government system is regarded as a mere nothing, a negligible quantity, while the Government servant, who is Government itself, is regarded as an end in himself whose purposes are to be accomplished at all hazards and quite regardless of what happens to his fellows,

but all subject to the waywardness and oppressive materialization of Whitehall under a soulless Democracy.

Such a state has always ended and will always end in conflict, bloodshed and anarchy. The great peoples of India, by means of an age-long, sacerdotal concept, are held in the grip of a view of life wherein man, again, is a mere nothing, while the mass is exalted to the place of honour. The logical result of this view has always been and will always be stagnation, powerlessness and failure. The two systems, that of Government and that of the governed, are inevitably heading for disaster.

It is upon this terrifying combination that Great Britain proposes to confer the license of unrestricted democracy, despite the restrictions, a combination whose ends are anarchy and failure proceeding from what history has already condemned. The most appalling waste recorded anywhere in human history is that which results from the attempt to do over again what has once been done and has been found harmful, disappointing, if not tragic.

The problem which faces the British Government in India to-day is nothing other than the problem of Government itself.

The problem which faces the Indian is that of the Indian people.

These are two distinct propositions and should be so understood both by British and Indians alike. And yet in their solution they must be one problem. The problem is not insoluble.

It is far less a problem of providing a constitution which will have in it a place for varying states of political development and which will solve urgent economic problems, than it is one of re-Orienting the relationship of the individual to the group or mass. There is only one way to change a system and that is to change it. Not since the epic age of Arya has anyone truly loved India because there has never been an India to care about.

The problem is to make people love India. We may have faith, we may have hope—the greatest of all is Love.

Government, as such, does not care about India. It has no power to do so, and, if it had, the concept of Government, as it exists, with all its selfish trivialities and its resentment against its own functional life, does not admit of sympathy and love. Government at best imposes law and order; at worst it is a taxing-machine. It lacks imagination, inspiration, all the inexhaustible wealth

of humanness from which alone government contributes National strength and National righteousness.

Few, very few Indians care about India, or have even considered, or are capable of considering, what India as a complete political entity may be. Can that be achieved from a view in life in which the individual since time immemorial is regarded as nothing, while the mass with its traditions, its beliefs, its rituals, is exalted to the place of worship? Without loss this tremendous urge is capable of combination and of being transmuted to the view which emphasizes the individual to the utmost.

“He who dwelling in the earth is other than the earth, whom the earth knows not, whose body the earth is, who inwardly rules the earth is Thyself, the Inward Ruler, the Deathless.”

“He who, dwelling in the mind, is other than the mind whom the mind knows not, whose body the mind is, who inwardly rules the mind is Thyself, the Inward Ruler, the Deathless.”

“He unseen sees, unheard hears, unthought thinks, uncomprehended comprehends. There is no other than he who sees. There is no other than he who hears, there is no other than he who thinks, there is no other than he who comprehends.

He is Thyself, the Inward Ruler, the Deathless.”*

The Brahman concept is capable of a most lofty and aristocratic interpretation for mankind. Here is the life lost to which another philosopher has added, “He that loseth his life shall find it.”

If the problem is to be solved it must come from out of what is original and profound in Indian ethical belief. Democracy of the Western pattern cannot be applied to India. Yet within the structure of Aryan philosophy there lies the solution of the problem, a tremendous force—Thyself, the Inward Ruler, the Deathless—for good or for evil.

For good, because Hindu meeting Moslem in the concept of The One might carry India upwards along a national road to unknown and sublime political heights. For evil, because it can be used by ruthless individualism for the purpose of trampling underfoot the constructive philosophy of institutional life.

The problem is to make people love India. That is capable of achievement.

* *Bṛihad—arayaḥa Upaniṣad*, III, vii, translated by L. D. Baruch.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCE

IT is important to a consideration of the future of India to have in mind the fact that the higher education of India is conducted in the English tongue. This process has no doubt opened up a vast literature gathered from every field of human endeavour which would otherwise be hidden from the Indian mind.

Yet it can be observed that the attempt to supersede the Indian ideology by Western culture has proved a failure. Education—the School, but especially the University—has not succeeded in taking root in the life of the Nation : it is a thing of exotic growth, whereas education should undoubtedly constitute the background—or perhaps better defined as the spiritual momentum—of nationalism. In the shaping of a people's destiny nothing could be of a greater importance than its educational system. Perhaps the criticism of what at present exists is well summed up in the words of Sir Asutosh Mukherji who, in addressing the Annual Convocation of the Calcutta University in

1922, said, "Western civilization, however valuable as a factor in the progress of mankind, should not supersede, much less be permitted to destroy, the vital elements of our civilization."

What will be seen at once is that Western education, divorced from the fundamental Aryan teachings, has provided a spiritual vacuum, and into this have entered the sinister forces of materialism.

Though it may be appreciated neither in the West nor in India itself, Indian Nationalism is rooted deep in the literature and culture of the Vedas and in the history of the epic Aryan age. Without the Vedas there could be no Indian nationalism, no uniting force. It should be axiomatic for every statesman that the Communal differences which seem to separate and divide the peoples of India into mutually antagonistic groups are possessed of no historic roots and that therefore, being artificial and ephemeral, under great stress, or given inspired leadership, they will disappear. The Communal Award, then, which contributes legal and governmental sanction to that which is possessed of no historic and cultural authority, must sooner or later disappear from the Statute Book. It must be regarded as an artificial barrier to the realization of Indian political Nationalism.

There will be remembered the expert testimony, already quoted, from the Educationist among the five authorities whose evidence has been chosen to illustrate the thought-habit of British officialdom in India. Character-training is the vital need of India. For the mechanistic government, statistics are enough. For the colleges of India there might even well be picked some hundreds of young Englishmen. But the method of their choice would be all-important. The difficulties of democracy are the opportunity of education.

The duties and responsibilities of the office of Principal of a College may be summed up in a very few words. They are the jealous care and close oversight of the work and interests of the school taken as a whole, and the guidance of its relations towards the public. The statutes and regulations may be more or less specific in regard to the office of the Principal, and they may entrust the incumbent of that office with greater or less authority; but the fact remains that the office will be in chief part what the incumbent makes it. The measure of his authority will be the force of his personality.

It may be said of responsibility that you cannot have both it and repose. No man of integrity can afford to prefer repose to responsibility. He must act continually and courageously, and with all the

light that his education and experience have given him. Fashion, fear, ambition, even love will tempt men to deny their honest beliefs. The truth-seeking mind will not permit, in the ultimate, contradiction between premise and conclusion. It is man's bounden duty to exemplify this in practical life. When man deflects from the path of this duty, he surrenders his intellectual integrity.

The Indian boy, as a whole, has never had a chance. He is herded into class-rooms where he is forced to memorize in most cases disconnected facts which his mind cannot even comprehend. There is no attempt to explain to the class what it is proposed to accomplish by the particular course of instruction, what methods are to be followed and why, and why also a particular subject-matter has been chosen. These opening explanations are as necessary to the student as is a chart to a navigating officer. To throw a child into deep water as a first lesson in swimming is not intelligent and usually leads to disaster. Largely higher education in India is disastrous for it leads nowhere.

Just as a Matriculation Certificate may be a passport to a humble seat in a Government Office, but is no guide to life, so an Academic Degree may lead to the profession of teaching, but it will not

ensure good education, nor is it the passport to a boy's heart.

These observations may appear trivial enough in themselves, but the future of India, 350 millions of people, depends upon education; and education, and education alone, will solve the communal problem.

Consummate knowledge and skill on the part of the teacher are the backbone of every system of secondary education. But more than this. Character and example in teachers is of greater importance even than skill in teaching. The moral and intellectual integrity of a teacher will make a deeper impress upon the mind of the student than all his academic distinction. The enthusiasm of the teacher for his task, and beyond this for the purpose and ideals of the school in which he teaches, is of greater value than his capacity to expound the text works. A teacher may enjoy a long list of academic activities, yet be wholly incapable of influencing for good the life of one student entrusted to his care. The passing of examinations is no end in itself. The only thing which ultimately matters in a teacher is in how far he can impress the worth of his character and convictions upon the students.

Of importance is it that the governing body of the school should be in close touch and in whole-

hearted sympathy with the Principal. What he has subjected to conscientious and expert analysis the governing body must understand both in its logic and in its final definition. And this suggests that the governing body of every educational institution should consist of men widely experienced in world affairs and of the needs of the world, of men widely experienced also in Indian affairs and of the needs of India. Their mature knowledge, gathered from many fields of practical endeavour, can be of the utmost assistance to the Principal not only in shaping the structure, but in what is of far greater ultimate importance, namely, in generating and fertilizing the spirit of the school. Nothing could be more distressing than the conduct of many Colleges and Schools in India. It reflects little credit upon Indian public life.

Education can be one of the most interesting activities in the world. The man who plays a responsible part in education is helping to shape the destiny of the nation. The responsibility is infinitely greater, therefore, when man, as Principal of a College, is entrusted with the task of shaping the minds of those of another race.

He who really understands a college and enters into its spirit understands his own and all time. The college puts behind it and away from it the

meaner and baser motives and feelings. It has no place for greed, for corruption, for jealousy, for vanity or for empty boasting. The only emulation it admits is emulation in the pursuit of Truth and in the service of mankind. Its life is an open book. The treasures are the men whom it makes.

The problems of democracy are the opportunity of education. It should be put, therefore, to India—All-India—that its first task is to train and educate for leadership, to develop new thought, for a new India ; to enlighten the few, the only few at present, who can be called to leadership : to educate those few for India : to open the eyes of their understanding to new vistas of possibility within their grasp : to inflame them with a zeal to lead All-India into a new era of immeasurable prosperity and happiness. Herein is abundant room for men of good heart and understanding to co-operate together.

A new outlook can only then be spread through the process of education, and it can only become national if inculcated in the minds of the young. The secondary school age provides the period of realization, for the reason that the student is subject to the phenomena of adolescence. This is the age at which a philosophy of life will be grasped, and the influence of education and of example at this

period is unfathomable. It is the age at which a great ideal can be focused and can be made the end of ambition and desire. But first the teacher must have experienced the force of the new, respond to its rhythm, express it, understand and be competent to express the new in harmony with and arising from the spirit of what is good in the old.

Observers, both British and Indian, whether engaged actively upon the Indian scene or not, are prone to regard the resistances and outbreaks of a revolutionary character as being possessed of the same features as similar upheavals in various parts of Europe. This again is a superficial view. No doubt the Communistic teaching with its technique of violence, conspiracy, and with appeals to the impressionable and largely ignorant Indian youth, has produced an appearance of a new Indian motif which sweeps over India. But Indian Nationalism is far more deep rooted than this unhappy exhibition of perverted youth.

Varnashrama Dharma does not summon to its aid the bomb and the bullet but the divine revelation of the Vedas.

It is obvious that those who propel and finance the youth organizations which have resorted to assassination as a political weapon are definitely

intent upon the overthrow of the structure of Indian Nationalism itself. The deluded youths who are concerned in Terrorist conspiracy are but the dupes of those who desire anarchy for their own ends. That is the Bolshevik materialistic technique with which we are well familiar in the West.

To describe Hinduism as sensual is either to misunderstand the appropriate use of descriptive English words, or to misunderstand the nature of Hinduism. As can be readily demonstrated, consciousness is not the property of the body, and therefore consciousness is not one with the senses. We realize the senses as organs and as such they are the instruments by means of which Things are experienced. The agent and the instrument cannot be the same. Quite definitely Hinduism is not sensual except from the secondary and a subservient view that the Soul (Atman) controls the senses as it does also Vitality (Draṇa) and the Mind (Manas) and as the agent relates them in co-ordinated service. The Atman is at once all-pervading and eternal, and the Atman is Thyself. The body with its transient life is then merely a conveyance for the Atman, the experiment of things both Terrestrial and Earthly.

If earthly human organization is opposed to the

actual experience and knowledge, in contrast to experiment and philosophic application, of the Vedas as produced by the Rishis, then it follows that conflict must ensue, for the Atman will—by which is implied purposive action—utilize its instruments and the vitality and thought which it controls to bring about an organized environment in which it can properly function.

In passing, such reflexion must establish the correlative truth that actual experience of any given set of human circumstances may not necessarily prove the criterion by which to judge functional capacity. The Seer, gifted with vitality and who is also a Thinker, is certainly possessed of an infinitely higher capacity to function in government, that is in Leadership, than is the mere administrator, however long his experience of office and his capacity in purely material matters. This reflexion, of course, may affirm the significance of the aristocratic or hierarchical principle.

We are obliged to consider, therefore, not one man alone who accepts the social polity and religious disciplines of the *Varnashrama Dharma*, but hundreds of millions who both individually and in a corporate sense give implicit acceptance to the code of Vedas.

Many learned authorities have noted the

resemblance between the *Bhagavad-Gita* with other Brahmanical epics and the Christian Scriptures. The *Gita* are dated about the third century after Christ. Some authorities assert that they are borrowed from Christianity, while others believe that the early Christian evangelists are indebted to the *Bhagavad-Gita*. What is far more probable and rational is that both the New Testament and the *Upanishads* are simultaneous revelations of philosophic knowledge liberated by the Rishis.

No doubt there will be some who, relying exclusively upon "Faith" and unaccustomed to any free religious discussion which involves search for Truth, may resent as profanity comparison between, and identification of, the Holy Word of the New Testament with the Vedas and their commentaries. But no one who has studied the Vedic ideology can fail to be impressed by their immortal force in literature. Both the New Testament and the philosophic *Sanskrit* writings are "the eternal Word of the Spirit in man".

We come, therefore, to the proposition that language and culture are complementary. In short, that literature carries forward prevailing ideas and thought. And throughout all Indian literature the prevailing thought is that of the Vedas. No matter that there may be found vast differences in the

vernaculars of modern India. Each language possesses its origins in the *Sanskrit*, or, if not, the influence of the *Sanskrit* has made a deep impression. Then let it be reasserted that the Vedas define at once a social polity and a religious discipline.

Indian regeneration is the vital factor in the Indian future. There are needed those who will breathe into the hideous spectre of anarchy the vitalizing influence of religion. And by this is meant a vivifying, vitalizing force. Britain must understand this ideology. A purified, regenerated Britain is possessed of rights to promote and lead Indian Nationalism. But this means the rejection of many things within our own polity which have secured a vast influence therein.

The continued paramountcy of the King-Emperor implies the dethronement of materialistic government. No less does the sovereignty of the Indian peoples imply a spiritual synthesis and the dethronement of community. This latter will take time. But as yet the leadership is absent.

A striking commentary upon the lack of understanding of the Indian problem is demonstrated by the opinions produced from the left wing of British politics. Here we observe a passionate denunciation of British rule and of the historic governmental

policy. Those, like George Lansbury, who advocate the liberation of the Indian peoples from British control and who subscribe to the doctrines of Indian Nationalism are themselves Internationalists and are to be found as the most fervent advocates of the suppression of nationalism and its submission to a supra-internationalist force. We are provided, therefore, with the ridiculous spectacle of Internationalists as the champions of Nationalism outside their own country and Europe, while in the Western world they would have all nationalisms subordinated to international control. These people, it would seem, are activated by some vague sentiment, rooted in the democratic ideas concerning liberty. In close political alliance with them are to be found also political adventurers and alien hirelings who, while employing the sentimental argument, are purposed to destroy the British Empire in the interests of an alien race or some other foreign power.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CALL OF THE FUTURE

THE world is not going to believe that every act by a British citizen is based upon evil intent. The achievements of Great Britain are too great for that. The world is profoundly conscious of what is just, equitable and essentially right. Nor will the world believe that in the long run nations and peoples who are degraded, and who are oppressors, will achieve, far less maintain, material prosperity. The British Empire has had a long run. The supremacy of the British people in many fields of activity, too, has had a long run. There is no evidence of decline. A foreign observer, unacquainted with British national character, might just now obtain a superficial impression of doubt, hesitancy and disillusion. That is a post-War impression. The virility of the British people has been demonstrated over and over again. It is less than twenty years since the British race, scattered all over the earth, rallied to the call to service, not by compulsion but as volunteers, in a manner which has never been equalled by any other race in history.

There is an over-emphasis in the general condemnation by Indian publicists of British rule. British administrators are invariably vilified in the Press.

On the other hand, it is a very long interval since the epic age of Arya. After the death of Akbar in 1585 there followed in India almost three hundred years of political chaos, of warfare, of pillage, murder and arson, and of indescribable oppression of the peasants of India by their Indian rulers. The greatness of England, or Britain, as a world force, has endured for more than five hundred years, as can be seen from British prestige and expansion under the Plantagenets, the Elizabethans, the Stuarts, the Hanoverians, and ever since. Great Leaders of State decorate the pages of history and the influence of their policies was felt throughout the known world. One has only to recall the names of Wolsey, the Duke of Marlborough, William Pitt, Nelson, the Duke of Wellington, and those of great contemporary figures within living memory in realization of this truth.

There is no merit in the shrill abuse which a certain type of Indian politician, unfortunately not rare, heaps upon the heads of British officials in India.

History is not a matter of a decade but of

centuries. But to those who will only think of India in terms of but a few years, two events of the past eighty years seem to deserve comment. In 1857 occurred the massacre at Cawnpore. Within living memory nearly 1,000 persons, consisting mostly of women and children, were butchered in cold blood in circumstances of hideous treachery and of incredible villainy. Within the history of mankind there are to be found no similar records, unless they be those of Marat and his fellow butchers during the French Revolution and of the Russian Bolshevik slaughterhouse during the past decade. No philosophy of any age could possibly find one extenuating circumstance for such crimes. The memory of Cawnpore survives and sometimes it is thrown into sharp relief by assassination when again fierce ferocity chills the heart. But we do not find that the modern "Terror" accompanied by assassinations awakens a storm of protest from among cultured Indians. Rather, often have some of the most prominent preferred to identify themselves with felony.

The second event is that of Amritsar, in April, 1919. Here General Dyer slaughtered four hundred and wounded probably one thousand Indians.

There is no conceivable parallel between the circumstances in which General Dyer acted, at least

with honesty, however wrongly, and the dark treachery of the Nana Sahib. The Government of India and the Home Government condemned General Dyer. Mr. Winston Churchill, as some would suggest, might have been expected to be ready to condone, even to find justification, for the crime. But he did not. Speaking in the House, he said :

“If we offer these broad guides of a positive character to our officers in these anxious and dangerous times, there is surely one guide which we can offer them of a negative character. There is surely one general prohibition which we can make. I mean a prohibition against what is called ‘frightfulness’. What I mean by frightfulness is the inflicting of great slaughter or massacre upon a particular crowd of people, with the intention of terrorizing not merely the rest of the crowd, but the whole district or the whole country. We cannot admit this doctrine in any form. Frightfulness is not a remedy known to the British pharmacopœia. I yield to no one in my detestation of Bolshevism, and of the revolutionary violence which precedes it. I share with my right hon. and learned friend (Sir E. Carson) many of his sentiments as to the world-wide character of the seditious and revolutionary movement with which

we are confronted. But my hatred of Bolshevism and Bolsheviks is not founded on their silly system of economics, or their absurd doctrine of an impossible equality. It arises from the bloody and devastating terrorism which they practise in every land into which they have broken, and by which alone their criminal regime can be maintained. Governments who have seized upon power by violence and by usurpation have often resorted to terrorism in their desperate efforts to keep what they have stolen ; but the august and venerable structure of the British Empire, where lawful authority descends from hand to hand and generation after generation, does not need such aid. Such ideas are absolutely foreign to the British way of doing things."

Nevertheless, the unsympathetic attitude of the Indian Government towards Indians and the nepotism of the administration can be observed in the fact that General Dyer's conduct was supported by successors of superiors above him who pronounced his defence.

Let us be clear as to what the Churchillian attitude really implies. Writing for the *Daily Mail* in November, 1929, he said : "A warm sympathy for the peoples of India spreads throughout the United Kingdom. We hail with gladness every sign of

their progress to civilization, competence, and self-discipline. But an immense journey lies in front of us all before they could undertake, without hideous disaster to hundreds of helpless millions, the supreme and plenary control of Indian affairs. We need not attempt to measure this journey in years or generations. The speed with which it is accomplished depends upon the self-discipline and self-regeneration of the Indian peoples themselves. Our faithful and friendly aid will not at any stage be denied them. But Dominion status can certainly not be attained by a community which brands and treats sixty millions of its members, fellow human beings, toiling at their side, as "Untouchables", whose approach is an affront and whose very presence is pollution. Dominion status can certainly not be attained while India is a prey to fierce racial and religious dissensions and when the withdrawal of British protection would mean the immediate resumption of medieval wars. It cannot be attained while the political classes in India represent only an insignificant fraction of the three hundred and fifty millions for whose welfare we are responsible.

"Against the perpetration of such a crime as the immediate grant of Dominion status it is necessary without delay to marshal the sober and resolute

forces of the British Empire, and thus preserve the life and welfare of all the peoples of Hindustan."

It is frequently asserted that Indian public opinion is grossly prejudiced, incapable of response to the claims of justice. The servants of the Government of India do indeed suffer much, and they seldom receive approbation. One hundred meetings of protest are held for one meeting of approval, one hundred journalistic reproaches will be found for every journalistic commendation.

Government is unpopular. India desires its own, yet it welcomes with wide-opened arms those who come to help. The heart of man has made articulate cry for sympathy and imagination in place of the sneer and the taxing-machine. It is a cry for those fundamental things that lie at the very foundation of a reasonable and a moral life. It is a cry for National freedom, for National liberty, for opportunity to live a life of one's own choice and making.

For these things men and nations are ready to sacrifice all that they possess, and to kill their fellow-men whom they have not seen and whom they do not know in order that of these things they may not be deprived. That, too, is the final answer to the pacifist. India has yet to learn completely the way of sacrifice.

All knowledge, all training, all capacity must be consecrated to the aim and ideal of Indian Nationalism. But that is not attainable without the essential training for leadership.

The call of the future should be powerful beyond all compare. It is not one of shabby and superficial doctrines; of self instead of sacrifice, of community opposed to nation, which seem to dominate the political stage. There is no great Indian National Party. If anything in Europe is worthy of imitation, it is the identification of Government with a great National Party. And this was the essence of Aryan rule.

This is the age of the crowd and of the demagogue, in India as elsewhere. The crowd with its well-marked mental and moral peculiarities is everywhere in evidence; and demagogues political, demagogues literary, and demagogues religious din the ears with hungry cries. A torrent of talk is abroad in the land. The attitude of the trained mind is not one of acquiescence in the temporarily popular or in the pursuit of the new, but one of searching for those basic principles revealed in the structure of human society and of nature, on which alone lasting policies and institutions can be built.

India is conscious of change. No one in India, even in the most remote village, could possibly

escape the impression. The multitude is swayed towards changes through vague yearnings, through nervous excitement, through following purveyors of phrases and platitudes, through rebellion against law. The typical self-styled progressive of to-day appears to believe that any leap in the dark is better than standing still. So he invents novelties in politics, in literature or in religion and plays with them in full view of a delighted and admiring public.

In the India of the bazaars, wherein play and imagery are so much a characteristic feature of all life, such novelties are likely to prove excessively explosive, and frequently are. It is but a short step from the explosion of political oratory to that of the lethal weapon.

A striking feature of much of the political agitation in India by men of this type is that, rather than the desire for change being inspired by a love for Indian cultural institutions, it is but a ragged cloak for Communist revolutionary theories, borrowed from Hyde Park, and woven from mere discontent.

The world cannot be told too often that India possesses 350 million people, practising nine great religions, and speaking 130 different dialects belonging to six distinct families of speech.

These figures are startling even to a Europe or America accustomed to think of National Budgets in terms of hundreds of millions and wherein even single cities count their populations by the million. We may all, therefore, sometimes be inclined to lose sight of the fact that the most important thing in the world is the intelligent, evenly-balanced, lofty-minded individual human being. There is an impression abroad, growing in the West, wherein rules and regulations are supplanting individual liberty and therefore responsibility, that everything for individual welfare will be achieved by government and that the individual has nothing left to do. The political clap-trap of the day eternally suggests that everything will be done by Government—by the Legislature and by the Courts. From birth until death men and women are so regulated in all their goings and comings that they have come to believe that they may abdicate from individual responsibility while Government, by some novel way of distributing wealth and by some new mode of social legislation, will produce the Millennium.

Such thought is dangerous enough in the West with its high standards of education. In an India, about to experiment with some new constitution, but wherein less than fifteen per cent of the

population is as yet literate, such thought-habit will prove disastrous. Only one possible way in which perfection, or some approach to it, can be achieved is by the individual making it so. Through each one of us whatever is to be done must be done.

Democracy, as we understand it, cannot be imposed upon the India of to-day for sufficiently obvious reasons. It is apparent that under the influence of a system of caste or of a religious belief or of an all-controlling government, discipline and training are given in precise and definite form. India experiences such discipline in marked fashion. It is proposed to release the bonds of Government control in part while those of caste and of religion remain throughout. Within the Western democracies no one of these ends of discipline is possible, since democracy, as we understand it, rests upon the principles of equality before the law and of opportunity open freely to talent of every kind. India, regarded from the Western standpoint, presents as complex a problem as ever confronted the authors of democracy. The purpose and function of discipline in a democracy are of necessity wholly different from those which approve themselves in an autocracy such as are most of the Indian States, or in a nation which accepts, willingly, or with reluctance, the principles that the State is

superior to the individuals that compose it, and that it is not subject to the moral and legal limitations which bind the individual. This latter, however benevolent may be the State, is the position of the Indian peoples under the Government of India to-day. Within one political entity—India—in which citizenship is subordinated finally to the Paramount Power have grown forms of a democracy side by side with centuries-old autocracies. Are the British so blind that they will not apply the eternal principle of aristocratic government, and bridge the gap?

The younger generation is taught to feel the force of caste distinctions, or to accept the formulæ of a religion to which it gives inherited adherence, and to subject itself to legally organized powers and authorities of State.

The social disciplines imposed upon the individual both by religion and by government are a paradox. Membership of the "Indian State" is not citizenship but subordination. It would appear unbelievable that any British or Indian statesman either visualizes or will attempt to reproduce in India a democracy of the Western type. The state of citizen subordination may attain a high degree of social effectiveness but too high a price may be paid for civil liberty. Complete civil liberty given

throughout the India of to-day would certainly produce anarchy and the destruction of India as a political entity, with its consequent and immeasurable losses to social efficiency and well-being.

Democracy throughout the world has yet to prove that it can manifest a marked degree of national efficiency. One-half of the nations of Europe have already dispensed with it, and yet the experiment is to proceed in India, unless British and Indian statesmen will together take wiser counsel and return to a mutual loyalty to the Aryan ideal. To implement the Communal Award within the White Paper Scheme, if carried forward, will prove a moral crime of the first order.

CHAPTER IX

THE PARADOX OF SOCIALISM AND INDIAN NATIONALISM

IT is of supreme importance that the world, but especially the British electorate, should understand the mentality of those who are guiding Indian political thought of to-day. The question must be asked whether those Indians whose names have become familiar as leaders of Congress, as Communal Representatives at the Round Table Conferences, and as publicists, are actuated by the lofty ideology of the Aryan teaching, or whether some other influence governs their minds and directs political agitation.

There is available a mass of evidence from which considered conclusions can be formed. That evidence consists in the Indian-owned Press, in public speeches, in pamphlets and in habits and associations of Indian political personalities. As the result of analysis, the most striking feature of the political agitation is that its forms, technique, proclaimed policy, aspirations and ideology are borrowed almost entirely from modern Western

civilization. There can be no doubt about this : it is a self-evident fact. The declared aims and objects are for the Emancipation of India from British rule, and "to work" a Constitution whose design and structure coincides exactly with the Western democratic pattern. Self-determination is the political slogan of the hour.

While most of the Indian political leaders pay lip service to Internationalism, they pander to Indian Nationalism, for example, by support of the *Swadeshi* Movement. This latter, whose objectives are similar to the "Buy British" Campaign, appeals to every class in the community. And, for obvious reasons, it is the outward and visible sign of Indian Nationalism. Simultaneously, a vigorous though often cleverly-concealed campaign is being conducted with the object of suggesting that many foreign imports—such, for example, as soaps—contain foreign animal fats. And here will be recognized a propagandist manoeuvre similar to that which occasioned the Indian Mutiny, making its appeal to the religious superstitions of the illiterate and ignorant masses.

There is no great National Party in India. Not one Indian statesman has yet made an appeal to the soul of the people, or has founded his political gospel upon the teachings of the Aryan philo-

sophies which alone have ever contributed Indian unity. On the contrary—and here is seen the impossible paradox—the Indian political appeal is made in terms of Western materialism against which the soul of the Indian people is in revolt.

There is evidence, also, notably in Bengal, of a most unscrupulous anti-British campaign which, perverting the teachings of the ancient Hindu Seers, has organized and glorified individual assassination and the technique of the Terror.

The proclamations of the various Indian political leaders are nothing other than repetitions, re-dressings and imitations of the kind of thing to which the Western world is accustomed from Socialist and Communist sources. Again the paradox. The political agitators are mostly Hindus. They proclaim Socialism and Communism as the political doctrine, while Hinduism itself is based absolutely upon the hierarchical principle, itself an emphatic denial of the Socialist creed.

The fight which is being carried on over the body of India between British and Indian political and economic interests is one which, as the forces are at present arrayed, can only be decided by material force. That is to say, so long as both British and Indian statesmen are content to have as their battleground the plane of materialism. Civil

Disobedience is the materialistic answer to Armed Force. The Boycott of British goods is the economic weapon of materialism. Bolshevik Socialism has deeply impressed itself upon the minds of Indian politicians and the trend of Indian politics is undoubtedly towards the Marxian concept, itself no longer even scientifically tenable, as both Einstein and Adler have demonstrated!

But this is not to suggest that the masses of India have any notion whatever as to the goal to which a handful of politicians are attempting to lead them. A revolt is certainly apparent against a Government which only expresses Western materialism : there would be no less a revolt against its imposition by Indians, who would have proved themselves renegades from Indian nationalism and disloyal to the very ideology which alone contributes to India its political unity.

So far the fight is between material forces alone. As the political future of India comes further into the foreground of British politics, this issue is being clarified. We have now reached a position of argument where on the Indian side there are threats of further organized disorder which will result from propaganda, while on the British side former Army Commanders in India have come forward with expert military evidence in order to

reassure the British Electorate that Great Britain can hold India by military force. The attempt to frame the future Constitution is coming to an end. The issue as it proclaims itself is to be one of force opposed by force.

Let it be recognized that such an issue is wholly opposed to the Aryan teachings. The only possible course is to lift the debate from its plane of sordid materialism to that of inspired leadership.

Within Indian politics we see also the growth of a definitely Atheist group, perhaps an effort to square obvious inconsistencies. These people chatter of policies, of rights and of liberties. They have forgotten, or have never learned, that liberty implies discipline by which the human spirit takes over from the world about it, from history, from traditional culture, from morality, from human feeling, a great fund of material and makes it into habits of self-control, self-direction and self-ordering. They do not realize that the same problem holds good in the realm of ideas, facts and emotions. They imagine that by amassing facts, statistics and theories they can solve problems. But facts, as such, are meaningless. Valuable truth is not only knowledge of facts but of the relationship between facts. There are emotional relationships, instinctive relationships and cosmic relation-

ships, where other principles other than the directly causal hold good. Creative revolution has never been given a chance in India, at least for nearly one thousand years.

Let us see what it is that is proposed by the British Labour Party, with its feeble, disjointed, unprincipled cohort of Liberals and Communists, Co-operators, Syndicalists and State Socialists, sentimental visionaries, Anarchists, and pacifists, Bolsheviks and cranks. It is the curious and surprising alliance between these various groups, often mutually antagonistic, within the Labour Party, which contribute to its pronouncements and meetings a semblance of unity and potential danger. For, by some accident of politics, the Labour Party may ride to power and then, as we have been informed by the intelligentsia represented by the Cripps, Cole gang, and their colleagues, the Socialist Dictatorship will wrest control of the Parliamentary machine. Mr. Lansbury, Leader of the Labour Party, at the hands of Mr. B. Shiva Rao, who attended the Trade Union Congress as a fraternal delegate in 1923, sent a message to India in the name of the Labour Party. It runs: "We shall utilize the first opportunity, when it comes in accordance with our repeated declarations when in Opposition and in Office, to offer to India the free

choice either of remaining with us as an equal partner in the Commonwealth or of ending the connection if she chooses." What is this India to which the Labour Party will hand over the major factor in the British Empire? History affirms that there is no India as a political unit except that of the British Raj. There is no Indian national party or leader. Nearly everything which Indian politicians have proposed in recent years spells the disruption and disintegration of the political unity which Britain has reassembled and which Britain holds together. Of this, let it be repeated, there is the evidence of the long drawn out quarrel over the Communal Award, of the clearly marked dissociation of the autocracy of the Indian States from the Government of British India, and of the bitter political controversies within Hinduism.

Mr. Lansbury has further suggested that representatives of all sections and classes in India shall get together, and while the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the White Paper are finishing its work, these representatives should frame a Constitution of their own as the alternative to the White Paper Scheme and place on record whether or not they desire to come into the British Commonwealth of Nations on precisely the same terms as

Canada, Australia and South Africa. It must strike an intelligent observer of Labour Party tactics that such a suggestion coming from Mr. Lansbury is an illogical repudiation of the democratic principles to which so frequently the Labour Party has asserted its loyal devotion. Democratic machinery provides that the British Parliament will be asked to record its vote on the White Paper proposals, and the thesis of Democracy is that the will of the majority, however unintelligent and uninstructed, shall prevail.

Despite Mr. Lansbury's leading position in his world of Democracy, he is to be seen encouraging Indian politicians at large to put the White Paper and all that it implies on one side and to devise a Constitution for themselves. This is a point to press. Thinking also in democratic terms, one may reasonably ask the question as to who are the representatives to whom Mr. Lansbury refers, and how are they to be elected? Nor need we wait for Mr. Lansbury's elected Indian representatives to inform us whether they will decide to remain within the British Commonwealth of Nations or not. Quite clearly the Bolshevik minority, which also daily tightens its grip upon the Labour Party, whose policy so often strongly appeals to the Congress Party, will elect for dissociation from the

British Empire ; while, of course, it is but a short step across the Khyber Pass to the rich plains of Hindustan upon which for generations Russia has cast its covetous eye. Islam will fight such an invasion to the death. What has Socialism and Pacificism to say to that ?

If Parliamentary Democracy and the General Election is to be the determining factor, there must be no mistake whatever that the future of India must be the only issue. The destiny of 350 millions of people, their influence upon the world, the financial, commercial and diplomatic relationships involved, cannot be confused with the trivialities which obscure every major issue in the tomfoolery of a General Election. The question must be : Will the electors allow Mr. Lansbury to convert his promise into reality or not ?

Simultaneously with Mr. Lansbury's suggestion, a strong section of the Indian Press suggests that the moment has arrived for a slogan : "Down with the White Paper", and it is expected that "such opposition should be universal", and that India has only to await the generosity of Mr. Lansbury.

Nor does the Leader of the Labour Party speak alone. There is an indication of what the Party proposes in two recent books, "Where Stands Socialism" and "Problems of a Socialist Govern-

ment", in which the leaders of the British Socialist Party attempt to work out in some detail their plans when returned to power.

Mr. J. F. Horrabin, who writes the chapter, "Break with Imperialism", states :

"A Socialist Government would start with a flat denial of the right of any British Government to 'possess' overseas territories without regard to the desires of the inhabitants of those territories. It would admit fully the right of everyone of those peoples, not merely to Self-government, but to Self-determination. Wherever there is already an effective demand for Self-determination and where it is apparent that the people concerned can exercise Self-government, the demand would be immediately granted ; the only question remaining to be settled being the actual conditions during the probably necessary 'transition' period. During that period, a Socialist Government would be ready to give whatever assistance was asked for—if it was asked for ; using the bargaining power thus given it, to insist on such working-class safeguards as it deemed necessary.

"This surely is the position in India. The effective demand has been made there. Only those who wilfully turn blind eyes to what they do not want to see can deny it. Nor does the fact that the various

Indian sections put forward contradictory demands afford adequate reason for postponing any and every kind of settlement. There is no chance of those differing demands being reconciled so long as an alien Government rules and has it in its power to further the interests of one section or other. A Socialist Government would have to cut the knot by the immediate placing of responsibility on the Indians themselves. It would not concern itself overmuch with the 'constitutional' claims of the Princes. It would, as suggested above, concentrate on safeguarding, as far as it could, the position of the great mass of Indian peasants and industrial workers. Those Socialists who suggest that it is necessary for us to stay in India in order to do this must face the fact that we can only now stay in India at all (in a position of control, that is) by the use of military force, repression, martial law, etc."

Let us take Mr. Lansbury at his word. Let us assume—as do neither the Labour Party nor the Indian politicians alone, but also a considerable section of the Conservative Party—that the White Paper proposals are no solution of the problem. Every suggestion herein is in support of this thesis.

Let us assume that those who have devoted themselves to the White Paper deliberations have

been actuated by honest motives and with the best interests of the Indian peoples and of the British Empire at heart. Let us assume that valuable as will be the discussions and evidence offered, sustaining as they do every possible viewpoint, that no Constitution worth the name of Government can possibly result from the White Paper "pledges". Let us assume that these "pledges" are of a nebulous character, which in fact they are, given at a time and in circumstances with honourable intent; and let us observe that neither the circumstances nor the conditions for which the White Paper Proposals were originally adumbrated exist or in fact ever did exist.

Let us assume that it remains our paramount duty as the Paramount Power to devise a constitution, secured upon historical foundations, and which will contribute to the Indian peoples the further emancipation, progress and unity which the heart of India desires. Let us assume that among all classes in India there are men who are willing to co-operate with us to this end—men actuated by the highest motives, inspired by national traditions, men of unimpeachable integrity, men of wisdom, and men who share with the highest type of British statesmen the common ideology of the Aryan philosophy.

It is necessary to put behind us the sordid and base considerations which in the main have characterized Conferences and Debates, with their cheap legal and dialectical triumphs. It is necessary to produce a constitution which as its first condition embraces and evolves the epic era of Indian greatness.

The heart-beat of Indian Nationalism is the key to every Indian problem. While Statesmen are looking for the source of the music filling the air around them and while they are exploring the winding stairs of the organ loft they remain deaf to the concert.

CHAPTER X

NATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

THE tragedy of Indian Nationalism is that the sublime Vedic teachings have been perverted by unscrupulous politicians to suit the needs of the political revolutionary technique employed by them in the work of destruction.

Those who are interested to make a closer study of this technique may well compare the methods employed by the Bolsheviks in utilizing the sectarian mysticism of Russia with Communist activities in India. Both Russia and India possess such common characteristics as a vast illiterate population, diverse races and a common religious thought rooted in mysticism. In India the Communist revolutionaries have seized upon certain passages in the Bhagavad-Gita, the sixth book of the Epic Mahabharata, and have twisted its ideology to suit the assassin. It is no remedy to denounce the sublime Gita : what is necessary is to understand and to interpret it aright.

A distinguished British administrator has written: "There are grave blemishes in the British

Raj. One of them is that it does not appeal to the imagination of people of India. The Government with which they have to do is an abstraction and leaves them cold . . . it is a mere machine, and who can be loyal to a machine, especially a taxing-machine?"

There could be no better summary of the instrument with which we rule the peoples of India. It is an instrument only. It has no soul. We may argue for one thousand years concerning formulæ, powers and privileges. Without a soul government at best is productive of stagnation, at the worst it will provoke anarchy.

From the psychological aspect no Government servant, not even the Viceroy himself, is possessed of the magnetic and impressive setting of even the worst of the Princes or the shabbiest sadhu. There may be a dignity, but how chilling. The machinery of the British Raj is wholly out of sympathy with its vivid Oriental surroundings. It appeals neither to the eye nor to the emotion. The descent from the real India to Anglo-India is almost from the sublime to the ridiculous. Anglo-Indian institutions are stuffy and absurd, more than that they are irritating and repellent. They are possessed neither of the sympathetic majesty of the Ruler nor of the inspiring simplicity

of the spiritual leader. The various occasions of daily life in India not only provide the fullest opportunity for Government officials to exercise the powers of true leadership by demonstrations appealing to the senses, but such exercises should have also the inverse effect of stimulating and focusing the imagination. According to the circumstance, position and moment, daily and in contrast, the Leader may exhibit both the qualities and presence of kingship and the simple Oneness of spiritual identity with each and all. Such ascendancy is not to be attained by segregation and aloofness, but only by means of brotherhood, actually experienced.

The aloofness and segregation of the British community in India has been emphasized. In an earlier work, the writer has emphasized the fact that much of the success of French Colonial Policy has been due to the identification of French Officers and Officials with native life. Such unity is not secured by any lowering of cultural standards, but rather by adopting the externals and customs with their far-reaching psychological results.

The aim herein throughout is to suggest a new tempo in governmental action ; and such a change of attitude should be marked also by external changes in custom which will appeal to the imagina-

tion of the mass of the people. Here, let it be emphasized, the eye appeal is of far greater importance to illiterate people than is any other educational form. The masses cannot have any real knowledge of what is taking place at the heart of government ; but they may judge this from external signs.

Europeans in India, with the exception of the full dress of Officers of a few Regiments of the Indian Army, have never accepted native dress. In their outward appearance Europeans are aliens ; and especially in the more remote districts the appearance of the conquering Sahib in his European dress inspires awe and people even hide themselves. The Viceroy would appeal far more to the imagination clad not in a top hat and frock coat of Western pattern, while too, he would be identified with the objective of All-India, were he to assume the turban or the *pheta* and the *sherwani* coat, which also would contribute to his personality a fresh dignity and national expression. The Indian Civil Service as a whole, both British and Indian, might well be uniformed, and this as an example would do much to break down Communal and Caste differences which permeate the Government Service. There is a very strong section of Indian opinion which realizes that Communal differences and especially the Caste system are the greatest

obstacles to progress. The example of British leadership in identifying government with the people more closely would certainly exert the utmost influence. The Officers of the Indian Army throughout should wear the native dress most closely allied to the Regiment whose District its Regimental name implies; and the Dress Regulations should be amended accordingly.

When there is considered the inter-relation between political and theosophical or philosophical thought which influences every phase of Indian life, it becomes apparent at once that the identification of Government—assuming it is not mere administration—with the human life over which it presides is of vital importance. To identify does not imply assimilation of the dogma or doctrines of any 'religion' or community. But it does mean that Government must be the focus, the ideal expression, of the basic philosophies which underlie the great religions. External influences, appearances, forms are, therefore, of very real importance in the presentation of the picture of government.

It would be of far greater value if more often a Governor, true to the Aryan principle, appeared among his people in an attire identified with themselves, leading institutional life, than appearing on the race-course in top hat or *topi*, surrounded by

British Officers and Officials in English attire and a few Indian notables some of whom also have so lost the sense of their country that they appear in the top hat and swallow-tail of St. James. Perhaps, also, no more impressive and striking act of Government leadership could be performed than, for example, if the Viceroy or a Governor devoted himself sometimes to manual toil in the fields, clad in a loin cloth. Just as Caste is the great obstacle to progress, so also the British both in governmental and in social practice have carried the Caste principle along. The very segregation of the British community from Indian life exemplifies the rigidity of British Caste, which itself is possessed of ridiculous social strata separating the governmental Caste from the "boxwallahs" or business community.

The strength of the great Aryan rulers in the Epic age was that they were leaders both of philosophy and in statecraft. This vast India of agriculture with its vast peasant population requires also the leadership which can express itself with the added dignity of labour on the soil, and which can thus show to the peoples of India that a Governor does not stoop to meanness when for a while he gives his hand to the plough. Such an act, in addition to such others as participation in

Indian village games, physical exercise and craft would have a very profound influence upon the whole structure of Indian life. In fact the unimaginative dignity, the stuffiness of a bureaucracy, the endless round of purposeless amusements by the few fawned upon by the many, the alien aloofness of the Governors from the governed, and the impression of cold, materialistic authority must give way before a system which both in its externals and in its guiding philosophy responds to the real desires of the hearts of men.

If from Britain itself we require an illustration of the force of this suggestion, then it is to be readily found in the example of the Prince of Wales. The appeal of the Prince to the imagination of people both at home and in every country in which he has travelled is not that he carries a sceptre and wears the ermine, but that wherever he goes he identifies himself with ordinary people in their work and in their play. He has hewn a coal face, he has ridden a prairie and has walked the shell-strewn road. At the Levée he wears the robes of Royalty, on *Safari* he is seen in shorts and shirt-sleeves, and in the lumber camp men who stand with caps in their hands to the National Anthem call him "Eddie". This quite natural self-adaptation of a Prince to his people in a life so busy and

in such varied circumstance in itself suggests that a Governor and government servants in the permanency of their association with the peoples of the Empire should in far greater measure identify themselves with the life and customs of those with the leadership of whose destiny they are entrusted.

A far more difficult problem is presented when it is suggested to draw more closely the bonds between the British and Indians in ordinary social life. Deep-rooted prejudice on the colour question and a pathetic ignorance on the part of most English women of Indian customs and institutions is a very real obstacle. Most English women who go to India spend at most but a few years in the country, which they regard as an exile from their families, or which they expend in a round of social pleasure, gymkhanas, race meetings, polo, shooting, all centred in the Club to which Indians are not admitted, with an annual "holiday" in the hills, where the same round is continued. The need of India is for Leadership; and while high minded Indians are devoting themselves to reforms especially in questions which affect the status of women, an immense influence could be brought to their aid by the leadership of capable British women. Of this there can be no possible doubt. The example of Government, from the highest to the

lowest, but especially the Will of Government in this matter could accomplish revolutionary changes for which India would be eternally grateful to British leadership.

There is no reason whatever why the British Army in India should not be more closely identified with Indian life, for example, by the "alliance" of British with Indian Regiments, in the same way as certain Canadian and Australian Regiments have their Home affiliations. Each Regiment then would carry on its uniform some outward sign essentially Indian, which would be known to and recognized by Indians as moulding what is at present an Army of Occupation into part of a real Indian Defence Force. Both British officers and men should be afforded a greater opportunity for interchange; while so long as health and hygiene are protected in the initial stages, there is no reason why there should not be some bold experiment in the interchange of Companies, and in the more general plan the periodical allocation of British troops for duty in the Indian States to which as suggested they would have honourable affiliations.

Changes of dress, as every student of human nature knows, exert a powerful influence. Communal rivalry and Caste are the great obstacle to Indian advancement, to true Federation. If it

could be seen that in externals those responsible for government were identifying themselves with the people, then much of the inward and spiritual grace, of which such changes are the outward sign, would be taken for granted by the general population. An immense impetus would also be given to that strong section of Indian opinion of all communities which is seeking for the All-India concept. An examination of the Resolutions passed by diverse Indian Political Associations, usually revolutionary minded, provides every hope that even the most extreme, but especially those expressing Youth, would be willing to co-operate in such a change, and to lift the governmental plan from the plane of obstructive dialectics to one of action in the interests of human well-being.

As a general observation, it should be remarked that the English habit is opposed to changes of any kind. This habit is more deep-rooted in India perhaps than anywhere else, due to the climatic conditions which seem to produce an inertia, and due also to the nepotism which has long characterized the Indian Civil Service. But these changes must be made, for their influence, not only upon governmental policy itself, but upon the masses is of the highest possible importance. "Arya"—this is the touchstone.

As has been demonstrated, even the most distinguished servants of the British administration, generation after generation, have poured their scorn upon Hinduism. This is simply not to understand. To sneer and jeer at Hinduism is to ridicule Indian Nationalism. For there can be no over-emphasis of the fact that despite apparent great and often acute differences between the great Indian religious communities—Hindus, Moslems, Buddhists, Sikhs, Jains, Christians, Parsis—a common theistic viewpoint and ideology, that of Arya, binds all together.

Let this be demonstrated: sixty million Moslems inhabit India. A great many of these undoubtedly are the descendants of forced converts or of those who accepted the Quran as a relief from Untouchability. But the character of the Moslem faith in India traces its distinct emotivity to Akbar. The philosophic inspiration of Islam is a simple, virile faith in the One. On analysis it will be seen that the philosophy of Indian Islam has been strongly influenced by the teachings of the Buddha, no less than by an essentially Hindu environment. Orthodox Islam appears scarcely to admit a metaphysical version of deity upon which modern scientific intellectualism seems to insist. Although philosophers and physicists of

the calibre of Schopenhauer and Huxley have been satisfied to learn from the Buddha they have not sought or adapted the wisdom of the Quran. Islam with its simple moral code and disciplines is no doubt not only an admirable "faith" and unifying force, but among peoples of primitive thought it is undoubtedly also possessed of considerable proselytizing power. For our purpose here Moslem theology is important in its grand all-pervading theme that it insists upon One God invisible, the sustainer of the Universe.

In contra-distinction Hinduism is not strictly a "religion" at all. Its teachings are rather rules of conduct than of creed. Hinduism at no time in its history has sought to proselytize.

Of Buddhists it is estimated that there are 450,000,000 throughout the world of which more than 12,000,000 dwell in India and Burma. Buddhism proceeds from the Vedas. The main propositions of the Buddha did not vary from those of the *Varnashrama Dharma*. It is a matter for very serious doubt whether any Christian can find any serious cause for quarrel with the teachings of the Buddha. The difference between the Buddhist code of ethics and of life and the Christian concept appears to be vested in a question of Christian

"faith", that is in an interpretation, nothing more, of what Jesus implied by the more mystical and ethereal of his teachings as set out in the Gospels. It is obvious that the early Christian teachers and medieval priests both interpreted and translated the original form of Christ's teaching so that it might be understood by the intelligence of their age. Nor has the Christian Church departed from the original interpretation. The Buddhist proposition which does not seem to find any place in Christian teaching is that of Karma, of reincarnation, itself the fulcrum of Buddhist belief. But here again what is "faith" or "belief" to the Christian is held to be man-known and man-experienced by both Buddhists and Orthodox Hindus alike. The Christian, as it appears, simply because he is unable to accept the fact that man can know, and has known, metaphysical truth, refuses to probe the mysteries of after-life, and, like the Moslem, by an act of faith accepts the proposition of an undefined Paradise. In order to explain the Divinity of Christ, therefore, it was necessary to produce the theory of the Immaculate Conception to account for His God inheritance. Granted this essential separation from mankind, Christian doctrine allows that Jesus, Man, was possessed of knowledge of the whole truth of

our nature and existence, as well as that of the universe as a whole.

The search for Truth is the highest calling to which man be invited, or to which he may devote his life. It cannot, therefore, be said to be profane if the suggestion be offered that further investigation, translation, definition, even rejection of all interpretation other than the "Word" itself, may present the Teachings of Jesus in a new form, but one which more closely identifies the Christian philosophy with the Vedic concept.

During the early sixteenth century, while Christianity was fighting the bitterest battles of its sects, fights which concerned themselves not with philosophical belief but with temporal power, a fusion between Hinduism and Indo-Islam became almost an accomplished fact. The Seers of that age in fact appealed to both creeds alike, at a time when Akbar, the Moslem conqueror and philosopher, had himself absorbed the Aryan philosophies and made of them the ethical background of his own rule.

The Sikhs, numbering 6,000,000 adherents, are the result of such teaching. The Adi-Granth, the fundamental work of Sikh teaching, thus describes the Deity, "One, sole, self-existing, the meaning and the cause of all". The Sikh religion resembles

Islam in that it does not recognize Caste. Like Hinduism the religion of the Sikhs is essentially spiritual, but it seems to lack the vitality of Islam and the capacity with which Hinduism, through its three metaphysical systems, is enabled to appeal to different intellectual capacities and temperaments. As an observation it may be here suggested that Hinduism in this respect is comparable to the range of Christian sectarianism, but the comparison in this respect ceases with range, for while the three Hindu systems are not mutually contradictory it would appear that the essence of Christian sectarianism is that of mutual contradiction.

The Zoroastrians (Parsis), although numbering only 100,000, are interesting, if only from the immense age of the religion and their exceptional power and material wealth in the Bombay Presidency. The *Zeud Aresta*, the sacred book of the Parsis, declares a monotheistic philosophy. Authority places Zoroaster at some 5,000 years before Plato and such is the evidence of Aristotle. The Parsis are of direct and exclusive Aryan descent. Their philosophic religion again is vested in the One.

We turn to Christianity. There is no evidence whatever of the spread of Christianity in India.

On the contrary, Christian influence is small and the number of converts negligible, probably indeed offset by the converts from Christianity to Hinduism. In the small Portuguese possession of Goa beside Bombay no less than 10,000 Indians have been recently "re-converted" from Roman Catholicism to Hinduism. The release of millions of Hindus from "Untouchability", the Mahatma Gandhi's campaign, which may be possessed of deep political significance, may in fact lead to the wholesale "re-conversion" of Christian Indians to Hinduism. Let that be understood. Orthodox Christianity, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, makes no appeal to the Indian mind. The intellectual Indian despises Christianity, as expounded: - the ignorant Indian cannot comprehend its doctrines and forms. For the same reasons that Roman Catholicism appeals to Spanish or to Polish or Irish peasants, or that the Salvation Army appeals to the English mass, both Catholics and Salvationists have secured some small success in India by contrast with other Churches and Sects. But every authority, whether Ecclesiastical or lay, is agreed that the Indian peoples will not be converted to Western Christianity. We may well consider the interpretation placed upon the revealed teachings of

the One by Hindus, by Moslems, by Buddhists, by Sikhs, as proclaimed by successive Prophets and Seers.

In summary let it be noted that the great religious divisions of India are possessed of a common origin. The basic philosophy of each is governed ultimately by the Aryan ideology, itself an indivisible social polity and religious discipline.

India presents to-day, as always, the identification of social polity with religious discipline. India is in the process of rejecting simultaneously British rule and its dominating philosophy. What is this revolt of Indian Nationalism other than the rejection of the materialistic concept?

Throughout the ages man has from time to time set up landmarks, as it were, of Personality, by which he can direct his wanderings. Such landmarks are the great Seers, the Rishis—Confucius, Zoroaster, the Buddha, Jesus, Mahomet, Nanak. Intellect has brought together the scraps of knowledge thus accumulated and therefrom has constructed a view of the world and the universe which we call science, science in all its forms. It appears that in so doing man has forgotten the calls by which glorious Nature used to direct his wanderings. He now goes into

the meadows only to see the flowers in full bloom, not to share with them the awakening urge of spring. When they die he laments them, instead of passing on naturally to the next and to the next wonder. He has learned to remember only the sorrows of six score years and ten and to invent the cares of the morrow. But he has forgotten who he is. Man has learned his science, but he has forgotten the Life to which it was to give form.

The proper function of State Religion, that is, of National Religion, is to hold up continually before men's eyes the non-scientific view of things. But the Christian Church throughout the world is in a most unhappy state. It is now beginning to realize—and this realization has produced the falling away of Church adherents and the birth of new Groups—that man cannot and will not live by repressive and uncomprehending Ethic alone. What he really wants is some nourishment for his heart, not his theological soul, and this is what man is actually trying to obtain with what are termed his "post-War morals", even if in his ignorance he confuses love and desire.

The Western man is in rebellion against the dominant Freudian idea that he is nothing more

than a sex protoplasm, or that at the best, according to popular scientific understanding, he is only a monkey. To meet these needs the leaders of national religion seem to imagine the difficulty will be solved if they can produce a bastard scientific religion which will hurt no one's feelings very much. There is no attempt to rescue the teachings of Jesus Christ from their medieval interpretation or to go back to the Vedic teachings upon which those of Jesus are founded and which so closely resemble His whole Thesis. The parallelism between the teachings of the New Testament and the Bhagavad-Gita from the epic Mahabharata, often actually verbal, is a striking corroboration of this view. Divested of its wearying theological dispute and all the absurd trivialities with which Sacerdotalism is everywhere concerned, the teaching of Christ is extraordinarily simple. It can be equally well summed up in the Brahmanic interpretation—"Thyself, the Inward Ruler, the Deathless". And in this thrilling conception is the power for good against evil, the complete rule of conduct, salvation and eternal life. Divested of mere theology all religions teach the same thing. To know oneself as a spiritual being is to loose oneself in spirit consciousness and to have no doubt about one's

own existence. One who knows this cannot be deceived with the ordinary notion that he is who he is. He is seen through the illusory relative character of the daily self. In short, as every great Seer has insisted, it is man himself who is divine.

CHAPTER XI

TO FIND CULTURAL MOMENTUM

THERE is a very great difficulty and danger in over-stressing the theological, as opposed to the purely philosophical argument. Nothing herein, either directly or by implication, is intended to be read as expressing disrespect for any religious faith or for those who hold particular theological doctrines. This is an impartial examination; and, as must be readily perceived, the objective is to discover a common denominator by the use of which the ~~highest~~ philosophical belief in every religion can be utilized to the service of good government and in the disposal of human affairs.

Of the great religions Christianity and Islam are those which proselytize. They possess certain features in common. Islam was the religion of Adam, Noah, Abraham and Jesus. It was in fact the religion of every prophet of God who appeared in every part of the world. Islam is the most modern religion, a point which carries great weight with its adherents, for naturally it

is claimed that the divine revelations to Mahomet take the place of all others. There is nothing in the Quran which moral man cannot accept. It is a complete code of both personal and social conduct. This the Bible is not. Broadly, with the exception of a code of Ethics in the Sermon on the Mount and in the Parables, the teachings of Jesus Christ do not clearly detail rules of conduct. There is a remarkable similarity, however, between the Christian philosophy and that of Islam. The one great fundamental difference is that the Quran does not admit that Jesus was other than mortal and denounces the claim to His Divinity.

Islam is monotheistic, and, while frankly admitting that Jesus was a great teacher, the Quran adjures the Faithful to reject the whole conception of the Trinity. The Jews are subjected to the severest judgment. The Quran charges Jews with the killing of righteous men, with taking usury, with falsely devouring property, with treachery, with acting as spies, with hypocrisy, with being mischief-makers, with insolence, with hearts hardened for the breaking of covenants. From all these charges Christians are exempt. Both the teaching of the New Testament and the Vedantas equally hold up to approbrium the gross

materialism of the Semite ideology and conduct of life. It is curious that Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, and Moslems, are united in a common detestation of the Jews.

The Quran conceives of man as having Divine spirit breathed into him, nor does the Quran admit the return to life in this world of those who are actually dead. Herein it will be seen that Islam rejects the Resurrection and the Ascent. And the Quran equally rejects what is fundamental to Hinduism, namely Reincarnation, upon which the whole conception of caste is built. The real point of interest here is that the Quranic code of social conduct and the Christian code possess no fundamental or important differences whatever. But in the realm ~~of the~~ metaphysical, while the teachings of Christ seem to invite inquiry, Mahomet enjoined faith upon his followers. There is an extraordinary simplicity about the teachings of the Quran, and this very fact has obviously favoured Islam as a missionary religion among simple and uneducated people, though this is not to suggest that the Leaders of Islam are less intelligent than those of other religions.

Islam denounced polytheism as the gravest sin ; and it is in this fact that the sharp differences

between the Hindus and Moslems have been found, as well as in the belief of reincarnation. But these are matters only of theological dispute. It was these differences which Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, sought to unite.

It seems that a common denominator as a working hypothesis between the various concepts of God in His relation to man can be found in the following tenets which appear to be common to all religions.

Firstly, there is the belief in the hereafter. Secondly, as the final expression, there is the belief, through revelation, in the Absoluteness of God. There is no necessity to enter into a theological discussion or to attempt to interpret anew the teachings of Christ or of the Vedas. It is quite clear, for example, that Jesus taught, "I and My Father are One," and His teaching throughout was of one God. The Vedic teachings are insistent upon the One. Both Christianity and Hinduism share the common idea that man himself is possessed of divine attributes. This is a simple statement, nor is it necessary to employ metaphysical arguments to sustain the assertion. Islam certainly appears also to share this concept, when Mahomet in a revelation at Mecca affirms in the Quran: "Surely I am going to create

a mortal . . . so when I have made him complete and breathed into him of My inspiration, fall down making obeisance to Me."

A note to the English version of the Quran states: "This shows that man is made complete when the divine inspiration or spirit is breathed into him. It should be noted that the divine spirit does not mean here the animal soul in man, but the spirit or word of Allah, that gives him perfection."

Again we find in Christianity and in Islam, in Hinduism, and in Buddhism, indeed in all religions, the common concept of the Divine spirit in man.

All else is subservient and subsidiary to this conception. Whether it is a matter of faith and speculation, or whether it is a matter of knowledge and revealed fact and experience does not really matter. Leaving aside all arguments and evidences in support of doctrine, and apart from theological dispute and the schisms which divide religious sects and churches, one thing of vital and fundamental importance remains, namely the fixed human idea that man is inspired by one God. We observe also that the world has generally accepted the founders of all great religions as being divinely inspired and as being great Seers. The oldest known revelations are those

of the Vedas ; and, again, leaving aside the profundities of metaphysical and theological mystery, in the Vedas are certain rules of individual and social conduct upon which those of all other teachings are founded.

Let us observe that in the practice of every religion there are to be found grave abuses, while the very schisms and sects existing in each one of the great religions are evidence that there is as yet no certain infallibility. Christianity produces many sects, as history shows, often opposed to one another. Islam possesses also its sects which sometimes come into sharp mutual conflict. Buddhism and the religion of the Sikhs are offshoots from Hinduism, while Hinduism itself again is divided into sects. There appears the necessity that the one truth common to all religions and all sects within them shall be made the guiding principle of conduct in social organization and for individual conduct. Accentuation of difference can only lead to further divisions and to strife.

A common fixation of thought in one Truth will produce unity, while certainly it must be universally admitted that, once this Truth is fixed and sustained, God Himself by revelation will define the destiny of man.

We see around us a sick world. Only where a spiritual religion is the basis of national endeavour do we observe this malaise of pessimism giving way before a new optimism. The sickness is one of materialism. The men of the West have sinned against the spiritual principle of their being. The majesty of God is really in the human mind, the structure of the Universe is in the human mind, but this statement appears only to be admissible if the proposition is accepted that man has knowledge and experience of metaphysical truth. Western civilization has not ordinarily accepted these views and the consequence is that the West rules the World, by power, by the mechanistic conception, by science, and by pessimistic pride. Rudyard Kipling affirmed that, "East is East, and West is West", that is a statement of the philosophic fact of the age in which he wrote. But when he continues that, "Never the twain shall meet", he does not recognize that a great sundering is proceeding which is revealed in the racial movements of the world but especially in those of the India of which he wrote.

Everything in the world is subject to regular principles, to definite laws and to a certain structural organic scheme of things. When we

come to concrete realities such as sociological problems—how, for example, industry shall be run, how to take decisions at elections, or how to adjudicate in State affairs—we seem to find a maze of confusion and are unable to obtain guidance from abstract principles. We are unable to imagine ourselves as God, or gods, and find ourselves as ordinary citizens unable to realize that every problem of life is metaphysical and possesses its cosmic implications. In consequence we administer drugs to the heart of the intellect; and in common parlance this is the policy of “Safety First”. As the consequence, the manners of everything remain unknown, and we talk words but only words. We may become great politicians, but we do not know, we do not understand. Life does not touch us. Man, therefore, becomes a mechanism, a thing who has borrowed a soul from conventions and has sold the God in him.

A man is not a worse statesman, ruler, leader because his mind is not rooted in the field of gross materialism. Rather, in throwing off his psychic entropy, does he realize the God in him, and is then capable of perceiving the hidden thing, is gifted with hitherto unrealized powers in the solution of human problems and his interpretations are based upon the eternal Personality of

Men rather than upon the ephemeral and deluding evidences of objects and possessions.

Until these things be understood we must recognize clearly for ourselves the nemesis of Western civilization. And not of Western civilization alone, for the cultural imposition of the West upon India, which historically is the cultural centre of the world, has continued too long for its effect not to be felt.

What then is needed? It is the injection of a new, yet ageless, cultural momentum into the unsympathetic and often hostile and ignorant nepotism of India.

When it is suggested that the administrative nepotism, which is very real, lacks sympathy, this is simply a statement of fact. Nor is the suggestion one implying dishonesty of motive or lack of humanitarian considerations. The charge resolves itself to this, that the convention of generations sets the intellectual pace. There is a lack of intellectual change and sympathy: no more. The sympathy of the heart constrained by convention has no freedom to exercise its natural function, and this is an observation confirmed by a distinguished legal member of the Indian Civil Service, who in a survey of the Indian problems subjects the whole administration from the Viceroy down

to the lowest official to analysis and in summary asserts—"The virtual rulers of the country have become less men and more machines for grinding out documents, not as a rule, of very much practical value when you get them." He continues—"I was very much struck while in India, with the absences in most English officials of any real knowledge of the daily life and wants of the people. They did not know, and they did not seem to want to know. They were hard-working, just, nay benevolent, but unsympathetic, in many cases, more than unsympathetic, contemptuous."

CHAPTER XII

SOVEREIGNTY

THE events in India between the Indian Mutiny and the opening of the Great War demonstrate the forward march of reform.

The great British Pro-Consuls, the Viceroys of India, have made some separate contribution to the welfare of the Indian peoples as a whole. Names like those of Dufferin, Dalhousie, and Curzon would be landmarks in the story of any Empire. During this period, communications, medical services, the arrest of plague and famine, great engineering schemes, education, went steadily forward. At the same time the British and Indian armies together fought no less than seventy-two campaigns on the Indian frontier in order to defend the rich plains of Hindustan against the warlike and virile tribesmen of the mountain frontier.

In India itself there was a period of marked tranquillity. We may have good reason to congratulate ourselves. History reveals that in the preceding century India was torn between the rivalries of the great Moslem Nabobs and Hindu

Maharajas. The vast peasant population had existed under a governmental system of coercion, expropriation and what in modern journalistic phraseology is termed "terror"; while the great Indian Chiefs, like the Chinese War-Lords of to-day, were at perpetual war with one another. The great Mahratta Principalities, for example, spreading across Hindustan from Bombay to Calcutta show how the ruling Princes, Scindia, Holkah, and the Peshwa at Poona conspired the one against the other while the millions who peopled their kingdoms were subjected to cruel penalties and to perpetual strife. The Nabobs and Maharajas, whose successors, whether hereditary or nominated by the British Raj now constitute the Chamber of Princes, were defeated by Clive and Warren Hastings, and such power as they subsequently enjoyed was contributed to them first by the East India Company and subsequently by Treaty and by Royal Proclamation.

Yet in these Proclamations we read quite clearly what was the purpose in the British mind. It must be recognized that in British law the important question of Equity has traditionally superseded precise legal definition. The Civil and Penal Code of the British Constitution is vested in Equity, however much the influence of material-

istic interpretation may in these latter days have replaced Equity by what is legal and what is not illegal. British law is based fundamentally upon its attitude towards what is right and what is wrong.

British tolerance of the powers and possessions of the Indian Princes is founded, therefore, upon a conception of Princely duty towards subject peoples. This is a most important observation to make at the present time, for the conception of an All-India Federation emanated from the Chamber of Princes, itself dating from 1930, and it was first suggested by the Maharaja of Bikanir.

But the Federation now proposed, which ultimately includes the control both of Defence and the Foreign relations of India, as well as its relations with the Crown, is vastly different from that to which the Princes affirmed their assent. In the last public utterance of his life, the Maharaja Jamsahib of Nawanagar, the celebrated "Ranji", speaking as Chancellor of the Chamber of Indian Princes in the presence of the Viceroy said :

"If I find myself, as I and some of my friends do, unable to accept the present Federal Scheme, it is not by any hostility to British India that we are animated ; but by the simple instinct of self-preservation. I wish British India all good luck in its

endeavours; but its problems are not our problems; and no good will come of trying to confuse the two. The real truth is—and no one who has made a careful study of the proceedings of the three Round Table Conferences can honestly deny this fact—that the kind of Federation of which in 1930 our representative Princes signified their provisional approbation was very different indeed from the kind of federation which now holds the field.”

During the period under review, despite the progress made in the domestic field and the security given to the vulnerable part of the Indian frontier, there arose, however, an agitation possessed of all the features of a national movement. What is remarkable, of course, is that while in the previous centuries the Rulers of India, the great Princes, directed their energies and resources to the dismembering of a unified India, the tendency of the British Rule which followed was inevitably towards unification, economic and political.

Shortly, Great Britain had been responsible for the resurgence of the Aryan culture as the greatest unifying force and as the greatest of Divine blessings. Such a regenerating influence formed, however, no objective part of British

political policy. It appeared accidentally, or better, by virtue of the aristocratic foundation of the governmental structure.

It would now appear that however unwittingly such unity has been secured, when the possibility is within the grasp of British Statesmen to make use of the tremendous beneficent force vested in the Aryan ideology and the Vedic Code, this is the moment chosen to throw them overboard.

At the moment when by our own act and doing Great Britain has let loose the flood-tide of Indian nationalism, which is secured alone in Aryan achievement, rather than turn that flood into the great stream of human progress, we are giving our powers to the self-destructive task of attempting to erect material barriers against it.

Surely statesmanship requires something larger than this. To understand human nature, its hopes and fears, its ambitions, its aspirations, its virtues, and its vices, its capacity for good and evil: to see human nature from every side, not to despise that which is lowly, not to exalt that which secures its high place from the authority of Mammon alone: to be steeped in the history of the human race at large, the rise and fall of

nations and of empires, the cause for success and failure in the lives and actions of the world's historic figures : to be sympathetic in judgment, to be able to see both sides of every question, to recognize the tendency of events and in these to be the institutional Leader : to be ruthless of evil, slow to punishment and inflexible in action—these are the qualities of Statesmanship.

Statesmanship everywhere must have added to it one further quality. The Indian statesman must relearn the lesson taught by the great Aryan Rulers, who combined in themselves not only ruling qualities, but the minds of philosophers and what may be summarized as a Spartan attitude to life.

The tragedy of India is its poverty, a poverty which beggars ordinary description. It invades, surrounds, and reaches right up to the footsteps of the Palaces in which dwell those who have inherited the Autocracies of the Nabobs and of the Maharajas whom we displaced centuries ago.

So rare are the simple virtues to whose inherent necessity the history of all great Leadership testifies that a man might live more than half his life in India and never discover them. He might journey from the Himalayas to Cape Cormorin and from East to West, and in the Rulers whom

he would meet, whether British or Indian, he would discover little of that refinement of life, that philosophic contentment with the pleasures to be found in pure culture, that magnetic gift of Leadership by personal example upon which all human greatness is founded.

The position, power and prestige of the Princes is the datum line. Historically they owe their position to British tolerance. British rule can do what it will with them: let there be no mistake about that. To enter into long legal arguments as to the interpretation of Treaties and Proclamations is merely an exercise in dialectics and a waste of time. Indian nationalism exists. We ourselves are responsible for its resurgence. We ourselves must lead it. First, we must lead the Princes.

This is no matter for dialectics or for conferences, but for plain speaking. The Princes have a duty. That duty is nothing more or less than the Leadership of their people. No one who has any knowledge of India can possibly suggest that the Princes and Ruling Chiefs are devoting themselves to any such thing. Indian nationalism is as impatient of the Princes as it is of British rule. Indian nationalism recognizes that it is British rule and British rule alone which

preserves the authority and autocracy of the Principalities.

British rule in India is largely divested of the spirit of Leadership. It has become a dead thing, without that magnetic, vitalizing, inspiring authority which alone is the essence of good Government.

A calm, determined government in India, led by strong, high-principled men might capture to itself something, if not all, of the spirit of the epic Aryan age. It must pin its faith in Aryan principles, proclaiming these principles as the beginning and end of Policy, insisting that they and they alone, inspire, transmute and direct unity—transcending race, colour, community and creed.

Indian nationalism has no use for the luxury of palaces, for cohorts of dancing girls and endless racing stables, for national revenues dissipated in selfish luxury or for clever legal phrases which may serve as law but which defeat equity and justice. A Government which understood these things, and which put them into practice would summon all India to its support.

In the last resort a Government of whatever character must take its stand upon a set of principles as to which there can be no qualification.

Sovereignty

Herein, as the cardinal principle for governmental action, is asserted the sovereignty of the Indian peoples, sovereign as one people, sovereign since five thousands of years of history—sovereignty given its historical right and authority—sovereignty which must be recognized as valid, the basis of all future constructive constitutions.

The doctrine of sovereignty, as we generally understand it, took its rise during the fourteenth century and as a consequent upon the development at that time of the new states that were emerging from the chaos which had marked the centuries immediately following the disappearance of the Roman Empire. The conception of sovereignty has been exhaustively examined by jurists, and every implication of the legal theory of sovereignty has been finally discussed.

There is, however, one vital aspect of the matter which invites further exposition. For what purpose does a nation exist? Has it any aim beyond its own aggrandizement and the prosperity of its citizens? Has it any duty towards the general concerns of the human race or toward the care of the backward and dependent peoples or toward the promotion of wealth or the good ordering of the world? Has a sovereign nation a moral personality or is it without any moral

instincts and obligations whatsoever? This is the point to press.

When two or more sovereign states agree together to promote some common and noble end, they do not limit their sovereignties. They rather enrich them. By this co-operation and association each sovereign state reveals the fact that it has a moral consciousness and a moral purpose. Slowly this conception of states as moral personalities is growing among men.

Each state justly glories in its historic past, in its racial history, in its language, its literature and its science, in its art and its architecture, in its industry, its trade and its commerce, and it would be glad to extend the influence of each of these over as wide a part of the earth's surface as possible. It can do so in but two ways: by conflict or by co-operation: ultimately by war or by peace. Again the point to press is that the State must be concerned as a moral personality. Then if this idea be acceptable the materialistic or rationalistic concept of national sovereignty is untenable.

"Non-co-operation," the political doctrine and weapon of the Mahatma Gandhi, ceases to be possessed of validity as an instrument for the statement or enforcement of sovereignty, once the British Indian Government has reasserted its

moral personality. Inevitably, as the consequence, the forces of non-co-operation must then be thrown into the scales on the side of co-operation and association in a revolution of moral purpose. In short, the answer to the Mahatma Gandhi and all that he stands for is British regeneration, a higher Imperial purpose, and there is no substitute.

Indian Nationalism, which expresses itself as a revolt of an ancient culture against modern materialism and a world corroded with objects and possessions, will continue its hostility against the British Raj, no doubt with growing violence, unless and until the British people reassert unqualified loyalty to the Aryan principle.


It is presumed that British statesmen—the British people—will come to recognize this fundamental truth. The ultimate conflict in India, then, as throughout the world, will be between the forces of moral principle and those of materialism. It is in this realization that the observer is perhaps best able to detect the basic causes for the breach between the Mahatma Gandhi and the Pundit Nehru within Congress. Here is shown the sharp line between a political ideology based upon fixed moral principle and a political theory perhaps inspired by materialistic considerations.

A statesman is one who represents a great idea ;

one which he can impress upon the conscience of a nation. The idea which those who are true to the Aryan principles are endeavouring to extend is that a nation is a moral person with a responsibility for its conduct towards others and with duties which always and everywhere accompany its rights.

There are varying facts and happenings throughout the world which we must be prepared to face. First, is the very obvious fact that not all the organized groups of mankind are by any means on the same level of competence for self-government and for international responsibility. To force upon such people either by weight of numbers or by greater capacity, or in response to some visionary theory of the equality of men, the political and social institutions which are suitable and satisfactory for people that are much farther advanced and much more fully disciplined, is folly of the first order.

The peace of India cannot rest with permanence upon any theory of domination by force, whether that domination be military or economic or racial or religious, for such domination is always a temptation to its disturbance and overthrow. Peace can only rest secure upon an enlightened and convinced public opinion. A public opinion



of this character cannot come into being except under the guidance and leadership of inspired statesmanship, that of men whose every word, act and gesture is a living, purposive expression of the divine faith—Thyself, the Inward Ruler, the Deathless.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PRINCES AND CONGRESS

IT is axiomatic of the proposals embodied in a Federal India that a certain number of Princes shall accept the constitution evolved from the Round Table Conferences and the Joint Select Committee. Once the idea had become practical politics, the Princes have approached the Federal India concept with the utmost caution. It would seem that there must be endless discussion and constant exchange of views and change of viewpoint before the Princes can possibly reach a formula acceptable to one and all.

The Government declines to accept the suggestion which has been frequently made that pressure has been brought upon the Princes, either individually or collectively, to bring them to accept the Government project and to leave themselves to the whim of Whitehall and to the ignorance of the British electorate. Nevertheless, some of the bolder Princes with their Ministers have more than hinted that they have been subject to Government pressure.

There is no reason why the Princes should not in fact be "advised"—which implies instruction—by the Paramount Power to fall into line in regard to a great work of constructive government policy, to which a princely resistance might prove a grave set-back. What appears is that the Government is not possessed of the honesty and strength of its own convictions; and while exerting pressure pretends to an ignorant world that it is entirely innocent.

The resistance of the Princes can be well understood. They enjoy almost complete autocracy, and so long as they preserve peace within their own borders, and their States do not become completely insolvent, Government leaves them to do more or less what they please. Some of the States, both large and small, have shown themselves to be wisely administered, with a progressive outlook. Others, on the contrary, demonstrate a varying degree of inefficiency, corruption and repression. Quite obviously the duty of Government goes far beyond mere administration.

Every thought herein is to suggest that the true function of Government is to lead and inspire, to be the vehicle of national expression, and to weld the State as a homogeneous unit,

directing its activities to the material and cultural elevation of the people.

To tolerate what is inefficient, unjust, repressive and retrograde is, therefore, to fail to understand the functions of government, and to fail to govern.

Of All-India, what is known as Indian India, or the Indian States, amounts to one-third of the whole. India is both a political and geographical entity; and there can, therefore, be no constitution for India which does not include one-third of its geographical and political whole. During the course of the Indian Debates in the House of Commons, suggestions have been made that the Government should proceed with the formulation of a constitution for India, omitting the Principalities altogether. The argument produced is that the Princes will come into line; and no doubt those who have framed these suggestions consider that once self-government is introduced throughout British India an agitation can be inspired throughout the States with the object of overthrowing the Maharajas and Ruling Chiefs, from which might follow the inclusion of their States within the British Indian self-governing democratic Federation.

But the British Indian constitution, as envisaged,

is based upon the Communal Award of 1932, which is a legal instrument for the perpetuation of the artificial divisions which in themselves are a denial of Indian nationalism. To omit the Indian States from the All-India Federation and to hope for agitation to increase the rate of democratic progress would not only serve to aggravate the artificial divisions now given legality, but further to disintegrate the Indian peoples.

The first essential to a governmental policy towards Indian India—of course presuming that government insists upon the preservation of its rights as the Paramount Power—is to examine the attitude of Indian opinion itself towards the Princes. With certain notable exceptions, it is to be noted and regretted that there is very little affection for the Ruling Families. The British people are so entirely satisfied with the integrity of its Royal House, with its benevolence, with its devotion to the welfare of the people at large, that, without further knowledge they may be led to believe that the Princes of India are inspired by the conduct of the King-Emperor and his family.

It is noteworthy that there has been no public declaration by any British Minister or "expert

authority" in criticism of the Princes. In most of the statements of the opponents of the White Paper Proposals there is to be found not only the sharpest hostility to Congress but a general abuse also of what is termed "politically-minded India", by which is implied nearly all that section of the Indian population which is literate.

An examination of the Indian Press during the past two or three years reveals the deep discontent of Indians with the conduct of their own Princes. Let it be understood that the Princes enjoy their rights under the Paramount Power not alone from Royal Proclamation but under the Princes Protection Act of 1922. Not one word has been said by any British statesman to enable the Princes to be aware of what is expected of them since they assented in principle to join the Indian Federation. So far as the world knows, the Princes, individually and collectively, are in a position to be able to reject summarily any proposal which is not agreed. While His Majesty the King-Emperor, by ancient statute imposed upon his Royal predecessors, has his constitutional powers limited and restricted, and his expenditure of public monies controlled by the Civil List, the Indian Princes, subject to the Sovereignty of the King-Emperor, enjoy absolute

autocracy, and are free to do almost anything they wish with the State Revenues.

The Indian Press in British India for several years now has continued to point out that the "people in the States are so cowed down by oppression that they cannot muster courage even to have a public meeting or to present a petition". This quotation from one of the oldest, best and most widely circulated of the Indian newspapers is typical. Other quotations from similar newspapers suggest: "Is it not the duty of the British Indian Government to make it imperative for the Indian rulers to provide freedom of association, to fix their Civil Lists, and to establish representative institutions?"

Very seldom has the Indian Government intervened in the internal affairs of the Indian States. Indeed, except in cases of grave disorder resulting in riot and loss of life, the effects of which might prove dangerous outside the boundaries of the mutinous States, the Indian Government has not interfered; and the attitude of recalcitrant Princes has not infrequently resembled an arrogant defiance of authority. The most recent cases of two separate States, in which demonstrably was found oppression—much of it communal—but also a disloyal and insolent attitude towards the

Paramount Power, it was found necessary after the State inhabitants had rebelled for large forces to be sent by the Commander-in-Chief to both States for the restoration of order and for the prevention of further loss of life.

There can be no doubt that the peoples of Indian India are suffering from severe repressions and heavy taxations which no Paramount Power with any sense of true government should tolerate for a moment.

If the price of the adhesion of the Princes to the Federal structure is the continuance of unlimited autocracy, it is not worth having at any price. If the stability of Government in India relies upon non-interference with oppression, then, equally, that stability is not worth having.

Without fixing identity upon any particular State, for our purposes it is desirable to examine one of the larger, which may be said to be more or less typical of the whole. The last available Administration Report of this State which is for the years 1930-31 shows that the net Revenue was a little in excess of 49 lakhs of rupees (£3,675,000) the Palace expenses amounted to nearly 11½ lakhs (£843,750). This was three times the net expenditure upon education and medical relief. It is not

an unusual subterfuge to debit a part of the expenses, which being in reality incurred for the comfort of the Ruler, instead of being included in the Palace expenditure are debited to different heads of state expenditure. But assuming that this subterfuge, which so often provides well-paid appointments, houses, motor-cars, and whatnot for the Ruler's favourites, is not resorted to in the present case, the proportion which the Palace expenses bear to the net revenue is, as is readily recognized, not very much below twenty-five per cent. The Report in question informs the reader that "the Budget assigns most of the income of the year to the well-being of the people". Only one-fourth of the children within this State are provided with any kind of education at all. As a measure of economy the Ruler found it necessary to curtail pensions and dismiss a number of Government servants of the lower grades, but on the other hand he added two European jockeys to his racing establishment, and the salary of each is three times as much as that of the principal of the high school in the State capital.

There is every evidence that the Government of India condones the gross personal extravagances of some of the Rulers of the Indian States ; and in some respects the Government of India also seeks to

emulate them. Government appears, therefore, to take its stand in defence of the degraded governmental system which both Clive and Warren Hastings found so easy to destroy, rather than pin its faith in those teachings of history which provide the acid test of how India can become a united people.

A criticism of the administration of the Indian States is not intended as an unfavourable contrast to the methods of Congress and of the reformist agitators. If many of the Princes are oppressors, they are at least realists. And even autocracy of the worst kind produces an even tempo in social organization and may prove constructive in the material field.

The Press organs of Congress and of the political agitators demonstrate that seldom, amid columns of violent vituperation against British Rule and British individuals, is there to be found one paragraph which speaks with gratitude of the acts or conduct of life of any British citizen. There is to be found no word of regret for the assassination of British officials or for acts of cruelty, cowardice and crime. On the contrary, more often than not criminals and assassins have received their pæan of praise. Very rarely, also, is to be heard an honest tribute to the public servant from the

mouths of Indian representatives of any community. This, perhaps, is lack of intellectual charity, and no more. So it may pass. But it should be noted.

While Government servants, shackled by the vacillations of Whitehall, do at least continue to preserve peace and good order and to balance the Budget—certainly two of the primary functions in human order whether considered individually or in the mass—India yet displays an ineptitude for coming to grips with reality which can only be described as Gilbertian.

Endless committees exist throughout the length and breadth of India. Instead of accomplishing a set task in accordance with the terms of reference, these committees expend endless years in endless debate without ever reaching decisions. Important public bodies with grandiose titles turn their functions over to what are termed "Working Committees"—a descriptive term which is possessed of no little humour. The "Working Committees" submit their decisions to endless sub-committees, which in their turn are required to report back to the "Working Committee", and thence again to the higher constituted authority. Affairs which might well and properly be settled by a few high-minded intelligent and energetic men, are argued

and re-argued for year after year, in an atmosphere of intense community and mutual distrust, the result of which is stagnation.

As an example, an important Indian newspaper, controlled by a leading politician, published in English, even so late as November 12th, 1933, writes :

“Greed for high office in Government on the part of leaders has always been the most deadly enemy of mass movement. This very vice disintegrated the non-Brahmin Party in Bombay and is at present working havoc in the Central Provinces. In the quarrel between the Naidu group and Punjabrao group, Punjabrao suddenly withdrew from the field in favour of the newly-born Farmers’ Party whose leader became Minister in Punjabrao’s place. Mr. Naidu not accepting this defeat in a sportsman’s spirit is again opposing the ministry, which conduct has created in the Central Provinces the strange spectacle of a quarrel between non-Brahmin Party and Farmers’ Party. The differences not being doctrinal but personal there is no weapon in either party’s hands to throw against the other but slangs and slander. And there is every reason to expect that shrewd third persons may make the best of the situation to advance their interests at the cost of the Non-Brahmin Party.” The paper

therefore suggests that "if the quarrelling groups cannot settle the differences themselves they should, following the example of the Bengalies who called in the aid of Mr. Ane to arbitrate in their inter-party dispute, seek the aid of influential persons like the Maharaja of Kolhapur, Mr. Jadhao, Mr. Latthe, etc."

Apart from the incapacity demonstrated by this example, it is interesting to note that the Arbitration in this inter-party dispute is sought of "influential persons like the Maharaja of Kolhapur". Here is acknowledgment of the final authority of the Princes, though those with knowledge of India will be able to form their own conclusions in this particular case. Having regard to what follows hereafter, the point to press is that Indian political opinion being hopelessly divided, the authority of the Princes is finally sought.

In the same issue of this paper is a report of the arrival of the Mahatma Gandhi at Nagpur as part of his crusade on behalf of the Harijans (outcastes). The Orthodox Hindus "decided to start a counter propaganda asking people to pass resolutions expressing themselves against the Temple-Entry Bill". A Public Meeting was held. "There was great row and pandemonium, resulting in the smash of a petromax lamp. Then there was all darkness,

and yet the General (Awari) continued to address the crowd."

Again in the same issue we find such statements as, "Dissatisfaction with the present Congress programme is being expressed in many parts of India. The new Parties are the signs of the times. It is understood in Bengal also the old Swarajists are thinking of reviving the Swarajya Party and they are also thinking of convening in December a conference of the Swarajists in other provinces as well. . . . The present position of the Congress is somewhat ridiculous. . . . It is high time for the Congress leaders to take stock of the situation seriously and try to put it in proper gear." At the same time we find this paper giving the fullest possible publicity to the "League against Imperialism", the Bolshevik Organization; and while all general news is omitted, there are columns of this twelve-sheet publication devoted to Russian Soviet propaganda, including the suggestion that Afghanistan desires a Republican form of government. "Insha Allah, God willing, India will have a Republic on her North Western Frontier". A long article, condemning British policy, is propagandist for the return of "President Amanullah".

From the foregoing, which is typical, it is quite clear that the Indian politicians have no policy

whatever upon which there could be any kind of agreement ; there is more than a hint also that both some newspapers and political, propaganda is highly coloured with Russian Bolshevik propaganda.

Congress itself, which would have the world believe that it is possessed of all the capacities and good sense for government, seldom reaches any decisions of importance ; and, if under the moral pressure of the Mahatma Gandhi some decision is reached, those who do not agree with his policy or who are unable to follow the amazing intricacies of his mind, expend their powers, rather in pursuit of the policy, in encompassing its destruction. An unceasing guerrilla warfare is conducted between the Brahmins and other Castes. The strife between the Brahmin leaders in the Bombay Presidency for example, and the leaders of the Mahrattas has continued without interruption for many generations and there is no sign of its abatement.

It is frequently suggested that the Indian Moslem community is ready at any time to join hands with the Hindus of Congress in the government of an All-India Federation. Yet the leader of the Indian Moslem community, Sir Mahomed Iqbal pursues the project of a Pan-Islam pro v

ince in the North-west of India to include the Punjab.

Often, too, it, is asserted that the policy of the British government has been, and is, to play off one Community against another; and, although no doubt in the earlier history of the British association with India this was true, it is demonstrably devoid of foundation to-day since the opposition of the All-India Federation comes from the varying Communities of India themselves, rather than from the fountain head of Government. If All-India is the ideal, then there could be no more colourful illustration of incapacity to reach conclusions than the long-drawn-out disputes between the various Communities—Hindus, Orthodox Hindus, Sikhs, Moslems—which terminated in the long delayed Communal Award.

Too strong an emphasis cannot be placed upon the evils which will inevitably result from any kind of Communal Representation. The Communal Award was forced upon the India Office by the demand of certain leaders of the Minorities whose real objects are quite different from those they are held to represent. Communal Representation means the intensification of Indian bitterness and disruption instead of consideration for all which characterizes the British system, and which also the

Princes themselves, whether Hindu, Moslem or Sikh, from experience, have found it expedient to reproduce in government. India as a whole is opposed to the White Paper. Resolutions to this effect have been passed by all castes, by all creeds and all communities. The Indians on the Joint Select Committee who have accepted the White Paper have secured themselves in India by pronouncing in advance against the "Safeguards". The White Paper cannot be regarded as a "Treaty" like that of Michael Collins, because the Indians attending the Conferences spoke for no body of opinion in India. There is no Indian who is not free to use the machinery of the White Paper with which to abuse Great Britain at once, while in Ireland the Bolsheviks were at least required to wait. Opposition in India to the White Paper is not in fact on account of the "Safeguards", but because of the danger of the unjust domination by rival communities.

Indians regard the British as aliens, though were government lifted to the Aryan plane and were the other measures advocated herein adopted, even this prejudice could be overcome in co-operation. But, dislike the British as Indians may do, there is at least justice and some efficiency, while there are also certain Britons who have won the admiration,

respect and love of Indians, not as aliens but as brothers. Indians now fear uncontrolled power in the hands of their enemies within India. The scramble for power is the unavoidable result of our transferring power. But the evil is exaggerated by Communal Representation; and if this policy is pursued it will be to our lasting shame.

If he can be taken at his word, the Mahatma Gandhi would lead India back to the spinning-wheel and the witch doctor. Yet there is much in the philosophy of Gandhi which is not readily apparent. The revolt of Gandhi is against the materialism of the age and that materialism is Western materialism. Whether articulate or inarticulate, conscious or subconscious, he carries nearly the whole of India behind him in this philosophic revolt which has taken national form and is the beginning and for the present is the end of Indian nationalism. Swaraj, which means and implies self-government and national institutions, is Gandhi's watchword, but it is not a Policy.

Congress is divided between the leadership of the Mahatma Gandhi and the Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, while a further leading factor in its counsels is the Babu Sahhas Chandra Bose.

Nehru's faith is vested in economic Swarajya more intensely than in its political form, and he

is more concerned with the form of the future Swarajya, than with its realization at the earliest possible moment. But Nehru appears as a nationalist and a materialist. The profound philosophies of Hinduism mean nothing for him, except that they appear to be an obstruction to his Policy. One of Nehru's admirers writes of him that "He is in love with the Russian conception." The Pundit Nehru is the instrument of Bolshevism. It is possible, though it is hardly credible, that Nehru might succeed in capturing Indian nationalism and in subordinating it to the Bolshevik concept. But he could achieve this only by consummate trickery ; and the mind of the Hindu is peculiarly on its defence against tactics of this character.

The Mahatma Gandhi, on the other hand, takes his stand on the vague slogan of the "Community of interest of all races and classes in India". So long as Gandhi survives he is possessed of considerable power in this concept. It is not surprising, therefore, that though long and bitter has been his battle with the Government of India, Gandhi seems to find himself so often in sympathy with the attitude of a number of the most lofty-minded of British Indian administrators.

The point which requires emphasis is that the British Government in India as a mere machine

is not possessed of the qualities necessary to successful leadership. Government is failing to fulfil the true function of government, is devoid of a governmental ideal, is concerned with material questions alone, and seems not to realize that it is spiritual leadership which will re-win Indian co-operation in a measure which during the second century of the British-Indian association has never yet been attained.

CHAPTER XIV

THE GOAL OF ALL-INDIA

LEADERSHIP is nothing else other than a capacity to be all things to all men, to be able to enter into the spirit of both king and peasant, to wear with distinction the regal robe in the executive of high office and as the focus of creative government in all its relationship with man, and to be able with equal distinction to labour upon the land clad only in a loin cloth. The God in Leadership must compel example from the highest to the lowest. The gnosis of Leadership is to be found in personal example.

Consummate knowledge and skill on the part of the Executive are the backbone of every system of governmental administration. But more than this, character and example in administrators is of greater importance even than skill in administration.

The moral and intellectual integrity of a Governor will make a deeper impress upon the mind of those governed than all the trappings of his office and

all his political distinction. The enthusiasm of an administrator for his task and beyond this for the purpose and ideals of the people among whom he expounds political philosophy is of greater value than his capacity to administer the letter of the law. A governor may enjoy a long list of public distinctions, yet be wholly incapable of influencing for good the life of one citizen entrusted to his care.

The only thing which ultimately matters in a Leader of government is how far he can impress the worth of his character upon the nation. The Leader must be at once the guide, the philosopher and the friend of all and of each.

It is a poor government indeed which fails to inculcate the ethical principle and the civic conduct that embodies it. Civic conduct is of moral significance and finds its basis in that true and deepest self-respect which is built upon respect for others. An infallible test in character is to be found in a man's manner to those whom for one reason or another men deem his inferiors. Manners reveal the man ; they are an outward expression of intellectual and moral conviction. Refined and gentle manners are the expression of fixed habits of thought and of action ; nor is this to suggest that

good manners imply any lack of vigour in moral or intellectual conviction. Far from it. In their daily life and contacts with all men of whatever class, community or caste, each servant of the Government, from the Viceroy downwards, must demonstrate that invincible yet unassuming courage that his attitude is one of strong intellectual and of strong moral conviction.

He who really understands the ethic of statesmanship and enters into its spirit understands his own and all time. Statesmanship puts behind it and away from it the meaner and baser motives and feelings. It has no place for greed, for corruption, for jealousy, for vanity, or for empty boasting. The only emulation it admits is emulation in the pursuit of Truth and in the service of mankind. The deeper things in the life of good Government are only known and felt by those who are able to go beneath the surface as it presents itself day by day and to feel the majestic onward sweep of the great current of spiritual, or cultural, life that finds in government a form of highest and most lasting expression.

Law, statutes and regulations may be more or less specific in regard to the office of a Governor and that of each one of his subordinates; and they may entrust the incumbent of that office with greater

or less authority, but the fact remains that the office will be in chief part what the incumbent makes of it.

The measure of his authority will be the force of his Personality. No autocrat and no self-seeker can long maintain himself in it. A great office makes a great man seem greater still by reason of the opportunity which it affords him for the use of his powers : a great office makes a small man seem smaller still by reason of the fierce light which it causes to fall on his littleness.

The supreme task of those who fill the great offices of State, that which invests them with all their authority and all their influence, for good or ill, is that of national character formation. The spirit which animates government is the outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual grace of each one of the nation.

The focus of government, the Personality, must be able to prove himself inviolate and incorruptible and of unquenchable ardour ; and he must be able to transmute and impress the character of his Personality upon each one of his associates, radiating the spirituality of his Personality throughout the whole of his administration. He must be scrupulously loyal to the objectives of government, having no compromise with either evil or

convention. The objective of Indian Government, the one beyond all compare, the one which is rooted deeply in history and which is incapable of destruction is Indian Nationalism. The Fount of Government and each one of his colleagues must be capable of long hours of labour, relentless in their pursuit of truth, joyous of spirit, courageous, immensely kind, overflowing with sympathy, of quick appreciation and of broad human understanding. Both British and Indian Administrators, the few upon whom falls the task of Leadership and who are entrusted with the mission of welding together disunited elements into one great political unit, must be possessed of these qualities, so deeply implanted in their minds that they overshadow all others.

They must be temperate in all things; yet never prudish; they must be courteous to all. They must be of inflexible determination, yet they may yield to reason yet never to prejudice. The Supreme Governor must prove himself the focus of all endeavour, the centre from which all activity will radiate, the foundation stone upon which the spirit of the State will be fashioned and built. He must interpret vague yearnings in terms of highest motive. He must direct the wayward journeys of diverse races and religions along one broad avenue

of idealism. He must be a visionary, yet he must be practical. His capacity must have been tested upon the anvil of experience. He must keep his objective ever before his eyes upon a limitless horizon : and he must open the eyes of all his subordinates so that each one can perceive this with a clarity equal with his own vision. He must make the goal of "All-India" the one beyond all compare, above community, above personal ambition. He must be ready and eager for every sacrifice which those entrusted to his charge may make of his personal convenience and comfort. His heart must not govern his head, nor sympathy his intellect ; yet his spirit must outpour with overwhelming devotion and leadership. And of all the virtues which he might thus embody in his own character, the last is assuredly the best, for if well and fully supported by those who have authority over other men and by his subordinates, a man possessed of illimitable zeal will achieve where all others may fail.

The matchless appeal of any one of the great Seers who ruled and shaped human organizations, who led the philosophic thought upon which a social polity was founded, attained supremacy because first themselves they were men. Let Christians reflect that the Mediator,

Jesus, was first a man. That has its historical evidence equally with the human life of the Buddha or of Mahomet. They were Seers. God was in them. •

We can come to no other conclusion other than that the new spirit which stirs the heart of India, articulate among the educated, a vague yearning among the peasants, is nothing other than a struggle for spiritual and mental freedom from the domination of an alien ideal. Wherever British Rule impresses itself in India there can be observed the universal decline of culture. In place of the superb native design, architectural and in furnishing and fabrics, a formless, bastardized art encompasses the land and enters into every corner of Indian civilization. Culture is debauched. The main stream of education not only ignores the great cultural traditions of the past, but its implication is often to hold up racial foundations and ancient cultural triumphs to ridicule. •

A former Governor of Bengal, to whom India owes a great deal and who was profoundly sympathetic with the structure of Indian life, has recorded that when from his sympathetic interest he offered a substantial Government subsidy for the development of an Indian School of Art, free from any conditions whatsoever, he was met with

sensitive criticism and opposition. Subsequent events have demonstrated that his was a voice crying in the wilderness. There was a distrust of what might follow after, and a fear that the unqualified sympathy of one Governor might become the stuffy patronage of another. In short there is no demonstration in India that the tempo of Governmental attitude has changed or is changing. A shoddy materialism overshadows everything else. The purpose should be wholly different from this. In the background of the philosophies which divide the peoples of India into religious Communities there exists a concept of social organization which binds the whole people as one human projection. At root there is a common denominator and there are no communal differences which should be permitted to intrude into Government or which need to be stressed in favour of or in opposition to any others.

Christianity sees God as an Invisible. In the Gospel of St. John it is written, "No man has seen God at any time". Kabir, the Weaver Mystic of Northern India sings, "Oh how can I say He is unlike this, He is like that? . . . there are no words to tell what He is"; while Sankara and his disciples expounded the Vedic doctrine in the words: "He that is the essence of your soul, He is

the truth, He is the self", a conception not unlike that of Islam which insists that God reveals Himself in the soul of man. The Quran, again, reflects the same idea: "Then He made him complete and breathed into him His spirit", and again: "Vision comprehends Him not and He comprehends all vision; and He is the Knower of subtleties, the Aware".

It may be assumed as axiomatic that nothing in nature happens by chance, a doctrine which is universally accepted. Throughout the modern world there can be observed a rebellion against the heavy oppressions of civilization. Such Movements as scouting, hiking, camping, which in their varied forms are blazing through Europe and America, and beyond are nothing other than a spiritual revolt against the "clocked-in" life of the factory, the office and the workshop. The beginnings of the awakening in the West were about the year 1906 when almost simultaneously the *Wandervögel* in Germany and the Boy Scouts in England commenced their growth. The Movement was far more clearly defined in Germany than in England. In Germany, it was quite definitely a revolt of youth against a world corroded with objects and possessions; and after the interruption of the War the Movement grew to tremendous proportions through the

Jugendbewegung and the *Bünde*. It is interesting to observe that the Nazi Party, which was the logical growth of the original *Wandervögel* and the *Bünde*, attaches tremendous importance to the Aryan origins of the German peoples. There may appear to have been an over-accentuation of the racial issue as against the purely philosophic, or that of thought-habit and culture, but we are witnesses of a Germany, reaching back to the simplicity and strength of the Aryan era.

In India, the revolt possesses similar characteristics. There is to be seen a renaissance of admiration and reverence for the pure life of the Aryan ancestors.

Here again is a protest against the materialistic artificiality of modern life, of which Rabindranath Tagore is the supreme exponent. Writing of the functions of the flower he says, "In the same form, sound, colour and taste, two contrary notes are heard, one of necessity, the other of joy", by which he means quite simply, as all familiar with biological life will appreciate, that its structure, colour and scent are each possessed of their utilitarian value, but that there is something also beyond, a Oneness not necessary to functional values, but which contributes to the flower the sublime.

Let us consider these things subjectively. In the function of Government certain things are necessary to its scientific ordering. Perhaps the British Government in India has provided an instrument of efficiency. But that Government, even according to the testimony of some of its highest administrators, lacks imagination, sympathy and inspiration. To pursue the analogy, it lacks the attribute of beauty.

Inspiration is something outside the economy of government; but it is the one thing necessary to make of government an object of human veneration. Two things are necessary, the one of necessity, the other of joy.

Whether or not there may be agreement and sympathy with the achievements of Mussolini or Hitler, the great exemplars of the new function in Western Government which has stirred popular imagination, is of no matter here. In an examination of the technique of one or the other, the point to press is that each has employed the two functions of government in presenting different aspects of the same thing. Each has provided for necessity, while contributing the function of joy. And that joy is vested in the glory, the tradition, the love of native soil, the reverence for great national teachings, the ennoblement

of nationalism and the renaissance of national culture.

To employ the dual function, that of necessity and that of joy, is the criterion, the touchstone of good government, and it follows, therefore, also, of popular Government.

CHAPTER XV

THE INDIAN CONFERENCES

NO man can say what will ultimately be the outcome of the Round Table Conferences and the White Paper Deliberations. Certain facts, however, declare themselves. A close examination of the Indian Press and of the speeches by Indians of all Communities during the past eighteen months, makes it clear that as the result there has been produced a situation, charged with disappointment and anger, not less dangerous due to the greed of vested interest, and the selfishness of personal ambition.

The Government of India, continually perplexed by the vacillations of Whitehall, driven from this policy to that by the varying sentimentalists and political pundits who, posing as statesmen, merely distract and irritate the Government and its officials, has almost ceased to exercise the functions of true government. It stagnates, awaiting the instructions of Whitehall, to most of whose inmates India remains little more than a geographical expression, or peoples to be governed by fixed formulæ.

The financial provisions envisaged in the White Paper proposals cannot be regarded without considerable misgivings. Sir Malcolm Hailey's Paper I Record Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform discloses a situation which, on analysis, is indeed alarming. "The position," we are informed, "is not only precarious but liable to some deterioration." Yet this is the moment chosen to increase expenditure upon the bureaucracy necessary for the White Paper "Reforms" by no less than six millions Sterling per annum.

During 1932, on instructions, the Provincial Governments made desperate endeavours to produce economies, the objective being to facilitate the provisions of the White Paper. Such economies were obtained by "cuts" in the pay of the civilian and military services, stated to be of a temporary character. Further economies were produced by the disbandment of Indian regiments, and by the closing down of Educational establishments. No economy was more surprising than this latter, for one of the main arguments of the White Paper's opponents is that Parliamentary democratic forms are wholly unsuited to an illiterate people. Yet, although the number of literates in British India does not exceed fourteen per cent, and in the Indian States averages less than four per cent,

education itself must be curtailed in order that the new expenditures to be incurred on behalf of democratic principles can make some show of inclusion within India's financial competence. After very rigid economies a slight surplus is shown in the Budgetary position ; but an immediate deficiency of over five millions will show itself without taking the "cuts" into account.

In 1935, wherein the imposts upon the Opium trade cease to be operative by International agreement, a further deficiency of half a million sterling will show itself. Various other factors declare themselves by which, even supposing world trade shows no further upheavals and Indian trade pursues a normal course, an improvement of sixteen millions in Indian Revenue is necessary to place India in a normal position. Add to this sum approximately six millions already shown to be necessary and India must find a further twenty-one millions sterling.

Not the wildest optimist will suppose that the Indian economic position can possibly improve to this extent, though it may be hoped that wisdom will eventually produce a financial technique capable of relating productive with consumptive capacity. This is, however, a consideration too speculative to be allowed to influence the situation as it is shown

to be. Were some new factor introduced—that of idealistic and realistic government in place of materialistic administration—miracles might be achieved.

Let it be repeated that upon all grounds Federation is desirable. There is every reason to suppose that a Federation upon the basis of the principles outlined herein would not increase expenditure. On the contrary, the introduction of the principle of Constitutional Monarchical Federation throughout India would immediately release considerable reserves, not at present appropriated, for the Federated India; while considerable sums would become available from the machinery of Provincial Government for the service of new States.

There is no reason why economies should not be exercised throughout, and, indeed, such sacrifices are worthy of the project, provided and only provided that the whole governmental plan realizes new heights of human achievement. There should be no actuarial difficulty experienced in determining the revenues available under such a plan and to what purposes they may best be put without the dislocation of anything but human selfishness.

In fact, from a financial aspect, everything in the last resort depends upon the spirit in which such

an offer of Federation under the British Crown is made. It is not to be supposed that there will not be opposition, especially of the obstructive kind. But lack of generosity is not an Indian failing and generosity has a right to its response.

The terms upon which it is proposed to establish the Central Bank require, therefore, most careful watching. The Central Bank will be open to the most hostile criticism if it is so established as virtually to place India in pawn to a small financial group in London, subject to the impositions of New York and of International Finance generally. The Indian Central Bank must be broadly based to suit Indian requirements as a whole; and honourably conceived it could well serve the Indian peoples and the Empire as a whole. The Banking system as envisaged in the White Paper is open to the gravest objections.

It contributes to a small group of private stockholders complete control over the economic destiny of India, based upon conditions ruling in the London market. The State Banks, both those existing, and those which should ensue within an India federated upon a State plan, would in effect be branches of the Central Bank. Thus the whole economy of All-India would be focused in one Central Bank and would be encompassed within

one system operating throughout to the immense advantage of every interest concerned.

It is true, of course, that in a Parliamentary Democracy, it may be unreasonable to expect members of Parliament to take a live interest in Indian affairs. Their constituents, to whom they are responsible, have no concern with the 350 million people of this sub-continent; and so long as Members promise pensions for life to all and sundry it is unlikely that they will lose their seats, or that any ill-temper will arise among constituents possessed of a growing anxiety concerning the management of the major part of the British Empire.

Lest it be overlooked, however, let it be remembered that the major part of British Imperial trade is carried on with the Indian peoples and that an atmosphere of confidence is conducive to good business. When the rest of the world is discarding the forms of Parliamentary Democracy because they have outworn their usefulness, it appears to be the veriest nonsense to propose to apply such a system to peoples, whose age-long culture and institutions are diametrically opposed to the notion. Certain vague promises have been made by preceding Governments and Viceroy. But no jurist of repute has yet been able to define precisely what was implied, nor does it seem to matter.

Nor is British honour vested in disputed formulæ. The only point worthy of consideration is whether we are capable of producing a constitution for India which will satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indian peoples, as a whole, producing new happiness, and which will at the same time secure to ourselves the confidence necessary to the development of mutual trade. The problem of India must, therefore, be examined in the light of these conditions, and no other factors should be permitted to obscure the issue. The Indian problem is no easy one, because of the diversity of race, language, religion and custom. No more than an average of ten per cent of the total population are literate, and they are agriculturalists, dwelling for the most part in villages, remote from city life, and the influences of Western civilization.

India must be examined, therefore, in the large. If detail be needed, then no more comprehensive study of this vast sub-continent has been made than that of the Simon Report. But in the large, India presents, firstly what is known as British India, being territories occupied by various races and religions, governed by the Indian Civil Service, men, who, unlike our own Civil Servants, are possessed of both administrative and political powers. All power is finally vested in the Viceroy

and his Council. Within British India, Indians themselves, upon an electoral plan have set up and maintain a system of Local Government, not dissimilar in form and powers to that of this country, but on a greatly magnified scale. The Provincial Legislative Councils, presided over by each Governor, possess certain political powers which could up to date be over-ruled by the Governor in Council. Ordinarily, therefore, such local Government has been the Governor in Council with the Senior Civil Servants, nominated as Ministers, with an opposition composed exclusively of Indian members, who seldom support the Government, unless a question of religious or caste differences arises, providing Government with an opportunity to play off one faction against the other. As a form of Government, this may sound extraordinarily contrary and there have been happenings in the conduct of the Legislative Assemblies which would have been the envy of Gilbert and Sullivan. It is quite certain, however, that the people of India have benefited very little, if at all, from the introduction of this Democratic form, expressive in fact of the will of very few, while Government itself has been conducted in an atmosphere of endless discord.

On the other side of the picture, we are con-

fronted with a series of Native States, enjoying almost absolute, semi- and quasi-autonomy and independence, governed by hereditary Indian Princes with Ministers selected by themselves. The size of these States is as various as is the degree of competence of their rulers. And competence is not the only consideration. There are States whose theories of Government belong to medieval barbarism, and whose ideas of justice make the Queen in "Alice in Wonderland" appear as a beneficent ruler. Despite enormous revenues and the fabulous wealth of many of the Princes, a goodly number of the States are on the verge of bankruptcy, while the people take no part whatever in government, and to them Democratic forms are wholly unknown.

This is not to suggest, however, that among the Princes there are not to be found those who have a very real sense of their responsibility and have not introduced reforms which are proving a real value to their subjects. The Indian States are, however, autocracies.

It is upon this terrifying combination of Western Democratic form laid upon Caste and Kismet and of Medieval Autocracy that Great Britain proposes to confer full Parliamentary Government and responsibility, conceded to a very small and

most clamorous section of the Indian peoples. A phrase has been coined to contribute to this notion some semblance of reality, and it is to be called, therefore, "Federal Government". It is, of course, possible, and from a political and economic standpoint history has proved the wisdom of bringing about Federation between States possessed of common political forms, and common economic and political objectives. But to confer the principles of Federation upon States which have no common political form without some all-controlling force at the centre which can and will produce an even rate of progress throughout, appears to be the height of folly.

There appears to be only one possible way by which true Federation can be reached for the States of India. The question may first be asked whether such Federation is in itself a desirable end. Of this there can be no doubt. There follows then consideration as to the measures which can make this practicable. We must consider first the fact that the agitation for self-Government proceeds from Congress, and that on the whole the Princes have remained loyal to the Throne. No matter that their reason for doing so may perhaps be vested largely in notions of self-preservation. The Government of India has been able to play off the

Princes against the more unruly elements in the pay and under the spell of Congress, but that is not a policy which can last.

We are dealing with a novel situation. It demands heroic measures if there is to be any solution without a great diminution of British prestige, immense dislocation of trade, and in reality the total loss of our Indian Empire. We may perhaps halt for a moment and consider what that loss will mean for the Indian peoples themselves. All Indian history demonstrates most clearly that they would fall a prey to the invader. There is a number of Great Powers in Europe and farther East who would not be slow to advantage themselves of the opportunity to play the part of pirates. There would be no gain to the Indian peoples from such a result. They would probably lose heavily. However much it may be the custom to decry our own institutions, it is nevertheless the fact that we have contributed to India, no matter what may be the motives which dictated the policy, medical services, systems of transport, posts and telegraphs, education, the stamping out of plague and famine, safety from dacoities and highway robbery, peace against the invader, and all these in a measure which India had not previously enjoyed. But these were material triumphs. We have no

reason to be ashamed of what has been accomplished. On the contrary, there is no nation in the history of the world which can show, as invaders, such immense reforms on behalf of the people whom they set out to exploit; that is assuming that those who would destroy the Empire are correct in suggesting that exploitation has been the one objective. •

The position is quite clear. Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India said (Hansard, March 27th): "The pledges of the past leave full liberty to Parliament in the choice of the time and manner of constitutional advance." And Lord Hailsham, speaking in the House of Commons on December 10th, 1931, said: "You reserve to yourselves full liberty if, when the solution is brought before you, you think it does not meet the conditions laid down to reject it."

Nothing could be clearer. We are as free to-day as upon any other in our connection with India to determine what form of government we shall enact for the Indian peoples, and in how far and in what manner we shall permit the Indian peoples to play a part in it.

CHAPTER XVI

A CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHICAL FEDERAL SYSTEM

THREE alternatives alone seem to present themselves.

The first is to proceed with the White Paper Proposals, in whatever form they ultimately emerge from the Joint British and Indian Committee, known as the Joint Select Committee. From the evidence offered it is quite clear that there is suspicion and doubt in the minds of the representatives of each Community and of every interest represented. The White Paper must, therefore, inevitably be a miserable concoction of principles served up with reluctance as a potion to peoples whose political leaders have already declared that they will refuse to sip the cup. Indeed, it has already been suggested by these Leaders that they will provoke and inspire opposition to any Act which results from or is founded upon the White Paper.

It has been alleged that the Princes have accepted the conditions of Federation as laid down under

pressure. It is very easy to erect a dialectical dispute upon this matter of pressure. When it is suggested that some of the Princes, led by the Maharaja of Bikanir, have accepted the principle of Federation, this cannot be gainsaid. But it is equally plain from the deliberations of the Chamber of Princes that there will be the strongest possible resistance to any kind of Federation which implies an interference with the administration of the Indian States. They are to be federated in name, but in practice they are to remain outside the Federal Constitution proposed for British India.

Such a constitutional change is filled with very real dangers. Although representatives of the Princes, Ministers of Indian States, have denied that pressure has been exerted, it is unlikely that any Ruler of an Indian State would publicly admit that his adhesion to governmental policy has been secured by pressure. Such an admission of weakness, for so it would be considered, would not be in keeping with the prestige and dignity of a Prince of India. Undoubtedly a Prince with his Ministers would strongly deny any such suggestion. On the other hand, those familiar with the methods and practice of the Political Department of India will know exactly how such pressure can be exerted and in fact very frequently has been and is brought

to bear. As an ultimate issue, the position of the Indian Princes in this matter is that of *sauve qui peut*. The Maharaja of Bikanir, a Prince possessed of statesmanlike qualities of a high order, has made it clear as to his own attitude when he expressed himself that the only future of the Indian States is in Constitutional Monarchy.

Fantastic as it may appear, the Proposals of the White Paper imply a Federation of Provincial Parliamentary Democracies controlling the immense territories of the Bombay Presidency, of Bengal or the North-West Frontier Provinces, subject to the veto of the Viceroy's Council, under Whitehall, representing the Throne, together with a host of autocratic States moving perhaps towards constitutional Monarchy under the rule of hereditary Princes.

The form of Federation is vested absolutely in the attitude of the Indian States. What is essential in the future constitution is that there shall be an even rate of progress throughout. That is the condition which should override any other consideration. Leaving aside every other argument, the question remains as to how an even rate of progress, a common political tempo, can be secured for All-India. Once it is agreed that any scheme propounded satisfies such a condition, there should

be very little difficulty in framing a Constitution which fulfils the conditions.

Having shown that the White Paper Proposals in no way fulfil this condition, a second alternative presents itself, namely to return to the conditions of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. But it is almost universally agreed that herein exists no solution to the matter. Moreover, all history declares that political retreat is filled with danger.

But there is a third alternative which has never yet appeared in the field of practical politics. It has not yet been suggested. This proposal flows from the examination of Indian conditions and of the necessities of statesmanship as applied to the Indian problem which are suggested in the preceding pages.

The proposals possess certain inherent merits.

Firstly, they secure unity.

Secondly, they impose a Federal System in which throughout there will be precisely the same form of administration in all its departments and in all governmental procedure.

Thirdly, they are based not upon the disunity of Communal interests, but upon the concept of Indian Nationalism.

Fourthly, they not only include the Indian States as a necessary condition, but they impose upon the

Rulers of the Indian States higher obligations and a far greater measure of responsibility towards All-India.

Fifthly, the proposal welds and unites British India and the Indian States as one whole, enjoying a single Constitution.

Sixthly, the proposal reproduces in India the Constitutional Monarchical System of which Great Britain is the world's supreme exponent.

Seventhly, there is preserved the form of Government to which India historically has been accustomed.

Eighthly, the proposal responds to the system under which in its epic era India prospered.

Ninthly, such a Constitutional Monarchical Federal System can be immediately applied.

Tenthly, recognition of the Sovereignty of the Indian peoples is implied and given.

In principle, therefore, this proposal, the headings of which are set out hereafter, involves the division of the whole of India into Indian States, to each one of which will be nominated a Ruling Prince. In the consideration of this question, there is no doubt that the present Ruling Princes will be secured in their own States. That must be a fundamental condition. In considering British India and its division into Principalities, there is no

reason why the borders of some of the Indian States should not be extended, a question which involves geographical, ethnographical and economic considerations ; while there should be no difficulty whatever in the matter of subdividing British India into Principalities. These are questions for experts and such expert advice is available. But again there should be no difficulties because all matters relating to such questions as railways, customs, taxation, civil list and the economy of States will be settled in accordance with one Constitutional plan in common to all.

It may be further suggested that several of those who have shown themselves to be most actively interested in the future Constitution of India, who have demonstrated qualities of statesmanship and a will to co-operate, should be selected as the first Rulers and Ministers of the New States within the proposed British India.

There may be much merit in Mr. Churchill's proposal to which public attention has been directed. What he proposes by limitation and experiment remains however under the moral stigma of a presumed superior wisdom associated with the material consideration alone.

The suggestions herein embodied are designed to promote by example, by the giving of res-

possibility and by setting up a standard of political virtue, an All-Indian India, which from the first moment of its constitutional beginning is evenly balanced throughout and rests upon one base. All useless and alien conventions must be scrapped. There will be no attempt to produce a Europeanized India.

The objective is to produce a Community in the full stature of its Aryan inheritance, to which are contributed the gifts and technique of modern scientific discovery and invention. It should prove an easy matter for the Viceroy's Council and for the King-Emperor's Council in London to survey the progress of the whole and to compare State with State in that progress.

The suggested Constitution provides for the mass of the people of India a gradual unfolding of their own inheritance, as use is made of modern technique in industry and agriculture, while the peoples themselves are secured in the cultural inheritance which is their birthright, providing that the great achievements of the past may be matched and emulated. This is a project worthy of the British people, worthy of the Monarchy to which the British Empire is the greatest and most enduring exponent, worthy not least of All-India.

Federal Governments are but half-way houses.

They are a stage on the road to unity. The Federal System is merely a political device whose object is to secure the unity of a nation where communal or economic difficulties prevent immediate realization.

The closest and most recent example of a Federal System being merged into a unified national state is that of Germany. Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony and other German States formed in Federation the German National Reich. Only the Dynastic particularism of the States stood in the way of the unity. The Throne and Principalities were swept on one side in the post-War revolution. Germany's enemies struggled to complete the disintegration of Germany; but the result has been the merging of a Federal System into one Government for all Germany, as the author of all-power, as the foundation of culture. The Germany which we see to-day is the natural outcome of historical development.

India presents a not dissimilar picture. The States of Hyderabad, Mysore, Kashmir and Baroda, for example, correspond with those of Prussia, Bavaria or Saxony. As in Germany, so also in India there have been historic jealousies and rivalries between the Indian States. They still exist. The Federation between the Indian States

is a step on the road towards Indian Nationalism. The analogy with the German Federation here ceases, for the Constitutional Monarchy in Great Britain is unshaken, and there are no signs whatever of departure from the historical monarchical form. Rather the reverse. The Indian States express in principle also the Monarchical system.

The only difficulty which appears to stand in the way of applying the Federal system to India at once is that presented by British India itself and the impossibility of welding two wholly different constitutional forms, those of British India and of the Indian States into one national unit. No such difficulty would arise if the whole of India consisted of Indian States embracing the Monarchical system. Since a desire has been expressed for Federation, a Federal India would be more easily achieved than was the Federation of Germany. Such Federation implies three propositions. First, British India must be subdivided into States, equivalent to the Indian-India which already exists. After due consideration, but without the characteristic delays of the conference chamber, taking a proper regard for the geographical, ethnographic and economic circumstances, the division can be completed almost "by a stroke of the pen".

There is no lack among the lesser Rulers and

among Leaders of Indian political thought of men capable of being entrusted with the Government of such States ; while the Paramount Power, both by precedent and according to Indian custom, is possessed of the fullest authority to elevate such men as Rulers of the new States thus envisaged.

Federation would then be complete. Each State within the Federation would be obligated to accept the principles of Constitutional Monarchy, into whose legislative system from the commencement would be introduced those reforms which India, as expressed by its political leaders, most eagerly desires. The leadership, the momentum, the focus of the new system would be centred in the King-Emperor, represented by the Viceroy and his Council and Administrative Corps ; but the responsibility for development, for progress, would be entrusted wholly and absolutely to Indians themselves. There can be no doubt that once entrusted with this responsibility, Indian Rulers would feel themselves under new obligations to eradicate the corruption, the nepotism, the cruelties and the oppressions which during the past several centuries have marked as a main characteristic much of Indian rule and administration.

Throughout the whole of this examination of the Indian problem, there will have been noted

a strong vein of sympathy with the cause of Indian Nationalism. There will have been observed an attempt, also, to submit the problem of religion and community to an impartial and objective examination with the purpose of presenting the difficulties involved in simple form for the benefit of those who have no knowledge of the problem. And further there is the unbiased attempt to discover a common denominator as an expression of unified cultural progress.

The system proposed is an earnest of honourable intention to provide a comfortable and efficient vehicle in which All-India shall set out on its arduous journey.

The new British contribution must be one first of sympathy, one which enters into a full realization of what is lacking in the Governmental system and of the false values attached to material conditions as opposed to moral worth. But by sympathy is not implied concessions to the forces of disruption, of anarchy, of revolution, of Communism. Government must take its stand upon a set of principles. If the kind of Government which is herein envisaged is to be set up, and if it is to pursue a course providing greater material prosperity and moral satisfaction to the mass of the people of India, it must be ruthless with evil. Uninstructed

criticism and obstruction must be heavily penalized ; and every force which is opposed to the State must be broken. This is the plain duty of Government and for this purpose Government exists.

The Indian problem has now been submitted for several years to close examination. Evidence has been heard from those representing every community and interest. The All-Indian Federation as proposed can very well serve as the basis for a Princely Federation as herein suggested. Little else remains other than to extricate the discussions from the morass of democratic jargon and to set up a System which corresponds with what is traditional of India, ensuring that the Federation from the beginning shall be given an even political tempo throughout. This, and the Leadership of the cultural momentum, is the duty of the British Government in India.

The Indian problem may therefore be summarized.

In our wisdom, and from our knowledge of the Indian peoples, of their customs, traditions and age-long philosophic concept, we will do nothing so foolish as to impose upon India the form of Western Parliamentary Democracy. A Government by counting heads in India will prove the height of lunacy, and most assuredly will produce

anarchy. On the other side of the picture, to leave the Princes in their varied autocracies, without the example of authority, and without pressure where necessary to introduce the reforms which India needs, will prove that we have lost the willing will and have abdicated from leadership. It would, also, produce stagnation, and in the end also anarchy. India needs our love and confidence also. Do not let us withhold them. The proposal which is outlined hereunder may not be popular. No doubt it will provoke opposition both from the noisiest politicians who represent no one but themselves and the vested interests which finance them, and from the more recalcitrant among the Princes.

Hereunder in brief is the structure proposed.

1. A Permanent Council for India, in London, consisting of men appointed, because of their knowledge of India and their understanding of its real problems. The Council will consist of a number of Indian Princes, nominated by the Chamber of Princes in India, of men nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, and of leaders representing Moslem and Hindu interests, as well as of representatives of great races like the Mahrattas and the Sikhs, and Minorities. The Council will be known as the King-Emperor's Council. The

only focus for Empire is in the Throne. No man will stand between the King and the people representing the Indian Empire. The Cabinet will be fully represented on the King-Emperor Council and will be fully responsible for interpreting its decisions.

2. The Viceroy, who will be an *ex-officio* member of the Cabinet, will have full plenary powers, exercised under the authority of the King-Emperor's Council, and will interpret the will of the Council in terms of such statutes as may be necessary to their fulfilment.

The present functions of the India Office will be terminated. The King-Emperor's Council will supersede the India Office, the office of Secretary of State being transferred to the Viceroy. A Secretary to the King-Emperor's Council will be appointed.

3. Under the Viceroy, All-India will be divided into a number of Principalities, both in British India and as existing throughout the Indian States. Each Principality will be provided with a Constitution, all identical in pattern; and the Police and Auxiliary Military Services will be contained within the Principality.

4. Governors, whose duties will be advisory, directly responsible to the Viceroy, will occupy

office in the Presidencies and Provinces in an advisory capacity to Groups of Principalities. The Viceroy's Council will consist of the Governors, who will report in Council as to the systematic development of the Constitution throughout the Principalities in each Province.

5. Princes who are obstructive in carrying out the Government policy will be removed.

6. The first need of India is for agricultural and economic development. Taxation throughout India will be according to one plan, and each Prince will be accorded a Civil List, based upon an invariable percentage of the revenue. It will thus be a primary duty of each Prince to develop the economy of his Principality in the interest of those for whom he is responsible.

7. Finance, as a function of industry, will be relegated to its rightful position, and will be a subordinate department of the Viceroy's Council.

8. Usury, a major curse of India, will be forbidden, and usurers submitted to the most severe penalty. No measure can be calculated more swiftly to win the confidence of all India—its vast peasant population—to the new form of Government.

9. Indian Civil Servants will be an executive body with full Political and administrative powers,

exercised throughout the Principalities. The vast central Secretariats will, therefore, be dispersed throughout the Principalities to their service.

10. The form of government within the Principality, presided over by the Prince, whether hereditary or elected, will be similar in form to that of the Indian Council in London.

11. The Army in India will be commanded by the Viceroy, with his Commander-in-Chief and Staff. It will be utilized for the protection of the Frontier and in fulfilment of the Government plan.

12. The principle of National work will be introduced ; and for this purpose the Hierarchical system will be utilized to the fullest extent, so that the crafts assigned will be encouraged and developed for the economic wealth of India as a whole.

13. There will be one Press for all India. No Newspaper hostile to Government will exist, but instructed criticism will always be permissible. The duty of newspapers published throughout India will be to inform the people of the Government's will and of the purpose of Government. Its further duty will be to foster and develop the traditional cultures of the Indian peoples ; and to give a lead to industrial enterprise.

14. Local Government, municipalities and village councils, will be formed on precisely the

same plan as the major councils. Each will be granted such plenary powers as are conceded by the Viceroy's Council. The importance of the *Panchayat* system is recognized, and it is, in fact, the reproduction in miniature of the higher form of Government proposed.

15. The objective of Education, which hitherto has been the training for subordination, will be "training for leadership". Schools and colleges will be non-communal and without class distinction.

16. Every post within Government will be open to Indians. They will be chosen for character, for service, for loyalty to the Government plan, for understanding of world problems in relation to the needs of India and its peoples.

17. Religious freedom will receive all tolerance. But any attempt on the part of sacerdotalism to proselytize and to create communal feeling on the basis of religious difference will be suppressed.

18. The objective is "India as a Nation", Great Britain contributing to it experience and technique, borrowing from it that part of Indian culture which will prove of great value to the mother country and to the component parts of the Empire.

19. Indians everywhere will be recognized as

a sovereign people and as a sovereign race. They will be protected against subversive propaganda, against tyrannical autocracy, and against usury. The people will be encouraged from their own genius, energy and natural resources to develop their country and their own cultural happiness in the interests of their own families, their own races, of all India and of the British Empire. For this purpose the development of Indian resources will be encouraged and provision made for it. The Government of Principalities which fails to give effect to the Government Plan will immediately be replaced by one of Government choosing and ordinance.

20. Government pledges itself to the Aryan principle.

EPILOGUE

THROUGHOUT this analysis of the Indian problem the attempt has been to reach through and above matters of detail and to attain to those solely of principle. In summary these principles may again be recited, even be restated. The question is what is practicable, what is ideal, what is right as alone men can judge right from wrong.

In order to prepare itself for efficient service, Government must count in its ranks men competent to be the intellectual and spiritual leaders of the nation and competent to train successors for leadership. Great Personalities make great Nations. And great personalities must be left measurably free to express themselves, each in his own way, if they are to reach a maximum of efficiency.

The free man is he who has a largeness of view which is unmistakable and which permits him to see the other side ; a knowledge of the course of man's intellectual history and its meaning ; a grasp of principles and a standard of judging them ; the power and habit of reflexion firmly established ; a

fine feeling for moral and intellectual distinctions ; and the kindliness of spirit and nobility of purpose which are the support of genuine character.

The distinction between Government and Administration requires restatement. Government is the establishment of principles, laws, policies, and Administration is the carrying out and executing of these principles, laws, policies. Both Government and Administration are two distinct functions. Special types of men are needed for each, and in the former, personality counts for more than all else.

Government must not follow, it must lead. Government must not seek for popularity, it must remain true to principle. Government must not sacrifice its governmental principles either through fear of criticism or abuse or through hope of favours and of gain. The Leadership of Government cannot be attained from the crowd ; if that were so, it would be but to follow.

The British Government in the end dares not be false to the great traditions of the British race. Great Britain has witnessed the decline and fall of empires, the discovery of continents and new lands, and one revolution after another in the intellectual, social and political life of man. The responsibility of the British people was never so heavy as it is

to-day. Great Britain has only to remain true to its high tradition, only to hold fast to inflexible purpose, only to continue to nourish a disciplined liberty, to make it certain that the British Empire will remain to serve mankind when all the gross structure of materialism will have crumbled and rusted into dust.

The same type of mind which insists that it knows no country but humanity, and that one should aim to be the citizen of no state but only of the world, indulges itself in the fiction that one may be disloyal to one's own children which he has voluntarily begotten in order to show devotion to something that he conceives to be higher and of greater value. Both contentions affront common sense and are the result of that muddled thinking which in these days is arrogant enough to misuse the noble name of philosophy. This type of mind is of alien origins and by making clamorous use of the watchword of liberty has dinned the listeners' ears to all but license.

Alien influence in British affairs demonstrably has weakened the ties of Empire, has occasioned strife, material loss, much human suffering, a degradation of British character and a debasement of British institutional life to a degree as great as it is hideous.

One effect of much recent teaching of what once was ethics is to weaken all sense of obligation of every kind except to one's own appetites and desire for instant advantage. Yet little more than a decade ago men had come to believe that shed blood was better than a bank balance. Men of mature years who have achieved reputation enough to be invited to occupy a post of responsibility in Government ought not to have to be reminded that there is such a thing as traditional National obligation and that they fall short of it.

That economic determinism which is confuted every time a human heart beats in sympathy and which all history throws to the winds has in recent years obtained much influence among those who, for lack of a more accurate term, call themselves intellectuals. These are for the most part men who know so many things which are not so that they make ignorance appear not only interesting but positively important. They abound in popular journalism, in democratic politics and they are not without representation in Government office.

The time has not yet come, however, when rational persons can contemplate with satisfaction the rule of the literary and political Bolsheviks or permit them to seize responsibility for the cultural and governmental life of the British nation, even

less, for so do we recognize our high responsibility, for that of the British Empire.

It is noteworthy that instances of the lack of a sense of National obligation rarely arise in the case of those men whose intellectual occupations bring them in touch with real things and the inspiring humanness of ordinary men.

The responsibility of Great Britain and of India, singly and jointly, is doubly great because of their resources, because of their equipment, because of their opportunity, because the world has a right to expect that greatness not meanness will come from those whose past declares greatness, and because now may be the last opportunity for men of the same racial origins and culture to give formal expression of system and method in the inspired Leadership of their fellow men.

I, who reflect thus :

“He who, with strong body serving mind,
Gives up his mortal powers to worthy work,
Not seeking gain . . . such an one
Is honourable. Do thine allotted task !
Work is more excellent than idleness ;
The body's life proceeds not, lacking work.
There is a task of holiness to do,
Unlike world-binding toil, which bindeth not
The faithful soul ; such earthly duty do
Free from desire, and thou shalt well perform
Thy heavenly purpose.”

To the reader, I speak, thus :

“He that abstains

To help the rolling wheels of this great world,
Glutting his idle sense, lives a lost life,
Shameful and vain, Existing for himself,
Self-concentrated, serving self alone,
No part hath he in aught ; nothing achieved,
Nought wrought or unwrought toucheth him ; no hope
Of help for all the living things of earth
Depends from him. Therefore, thy task prescribed
With spirit unattached gladly perform,
Since in performance of plain duty man
Mounts to his highest bliss.”

The reader, who reflects, thus :

“I act here ! and, if I acted not—

Earnest and watchful—those that look to me
For guidance, sinking back to sloth again
Because I slumbered, would decline from good,
And I should break earth's order and commit
Her offspring unto ruin. . . .”

From the “Bhagavad-Gita”—“The Song Celestial”. Translated from the Sanskrit text by Sir Edwin Arnold, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., M.A.

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Index of personalities in this list

	PAGE		PAGE
ADDISON, RT. HON. DR. C.	3	KIDDY, MAURICE G.	36
ASH, EDWARD C.	11	KUMMER, FREDERIC ARNOLD	22
BARNES-GRUNDY, MABEL	25	LADOUX, MAJOR GEORGES	34
BARRINGTON, G. W.	38	LEWIS, TED 'KID'	6
BENNET, BENJAMIN	13	LOW AND TERRY	12
BLOOM, URSULA	18	LUCAS OF HITCHIN, WILLIAM	8
BOILEAU, ETHEL	17	McCULLEY, JOHNSTON	32
BOYD, AUBREY	28	McDERMOTT, F.	10
BROWNE, E. O.	30	McKENNA, STEPHEN	20
BUCHHOLTZ, JOHANNES	22	MILLS, ARTHUR	32
CAMPBELL, JEAN	29	MOORE, AMOS	38
CHANNING, MARK	31	MORRISON, EMMELINE	21
CLARKE, ISABEL C.	9	MOSELEY, MABOTH	26
COGD, MARY F.	29	MUNDY, TALBOT	33
COLLINSON, CLIFFORD	10	MUSKETT, NETTA	24
CONRAD, JOSEPH	39	PEMBERTON, SIR MAX	4
COOKE, JEAN	28	PERRY, FRED J.	7
COWDROY, JOAN A.	35	PHILLPOTTS, EDEN	18, 39
CURTIS, ROBERT	35	POLLARD, CAPT. A. O.	10, 37
d'ALROY, MARCELINE	12	POLLARD, MARJORIE	14
DALY, CARROLL JOHN	37	ROBINS, RAYMOND	37
DARE, SIMON	24	ROUSSEAU, FRANÇOIS P.	13
DAY, J. WESTWORTH	4	SABATINI, RAFAEL	9, 40
DELMONT, JOSEPH	34	SARASIN, J. G.	30
DWYER, EILEEN	29	SAUNDERS, MARGARET BAILLIE	26
ELIBANK, VISCOUNT, GIDEON	5	SERGEANT, PHILIP W.	8
MURRAY	21	SHAW, CAPT. FRANK H.	6
ELLIS, YIVIAN	28	SHRAGER, MARLEON	29
ERSKINE, KATHLEEN	29	SILBERRAD, UNA L.	30
FITZGERALD, SHEILA	29	SLADEN, DONALD	9
FLEMING, ROSALIND LE	29	SOUTAR, ANDREW	25, 36
FORAN, W. ROBERT	33	SPENCER, JILL	29
FRANKAU, GILBERT	40	STACPOOLE, H. DE VERE	39
FRECE, LADY DE	5	STEWART, MARJORIE	20
GATTI, ATTILIO	14	STONEHAM, C. T.	34
GATTI, ELLEN	27	SUMMERHAYES, PRUDENCE	27
GILBEY, GEOFFREY	7	SWINNERTON, FRANK	16
GREW, DAVID	26	TERRY, LOW AND	72
HAMILTON, COSMO	15, 19	TREMAYNE, EILEEN	19
HICHENS, ROBERT	17	VACHELL, H. A.	40
HOFFMAN, W. D.	38	VERESAYEV, V.	25
HUGHES, PHILIP	23	WELLS, H. G.	39
HUTCHISON, GRAHAM-SETON	13	WHEATLEY, DENNIS	31
JACOB, NAOMI	23	WODEN, GEORGE	16
JOAD, PROFESSOR C. E. M.	11		

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"Charousek's Games of Chess", etc., etc.*

A NEW work on Chess by Mr. Sergeant is sure of a welcome among lovers of "The Royal Game"; for as a writer on the subject he has an international reputation, to which its champions have paid tribute.

A Century of British Chess contains a full account of Chess and its players in the British Isles from 1830 to the present day (including the activities of the British Chess Federation, and its forerunners). *Illustrated, 12s. 6d.*

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Biographies by Famous Novelists

By *Rafael Sabatini*

HEROIC LIVES

Author of "*Captain Blood*", "*The Romantic Prince*", etc.

Nothing could be more appropriate than that Mr.

Sabatini, acknowledged as one of the finest writers of historical romance, should turn for inspiration to the lives of great men and women of the past.

The result is a volume which gives a thrill far more moving and far more inspiring than would be possible for any work of fiction.

The degrees of heroism in the subjects of these sketches are as different as the spheres of activity from which they are gathered, ranging, as they do, from the full-blooded majesty of Cœur-de-Lion, who barely comes within the prescribed requirements, to the spiritual majesty of the self-denying Saint Francis of Assisi.

Mr. Sabatini has selected six figures of heroic stature, in various fields of activity, for each of which it may be claimed that the great body of humanity was enriched by his or her passage through it. The collection embraces the careers of Lord Nelson, Saint Francis of Assisi, Joan of Arc, Sir Walter Raleigh, Florence Nightingale, and Richard Cœur-de-Lion.

Illustrated, 18s.

By *Isabel C. Clarke*

SHELLEY AND BYRON

(*A Tragic Friendship*)

Author of "*We That Are Left*", "*Caring*", etc.

One of the most popular titles in our *Booklover's Library* is the book *Haworth Parsonage* in which Isabel C. Clarke tells the tragic, yet romantic story of the Brontë family. And now, resting from the task of novel writing, Miss Clarke turns her attention to two of the most romantic poets this country has produced—Shelley and Byron. It is a strangely moving picture that Miss Clarke portrays; the elements of the tragic friendship which grew up between the two young poets whose works were to become precious additions to the heritage of our language.

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Biographies

By Douglas Sladen ADAM LINDSAY GORDON

The Westminster Abbey Memorial Volume

Author of "Eve the Enemy", "The Unholy Estate" etc.

MR. SLADEN, recognized both here and in Australia as the chief authority on Gordon, was recently successful in his petition to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster to grant him a monument in the Poet's Corner of the Abbey. Thus Gordon becomes the first poet to be so honoured since Tennyson and the first overseas Briton to have a monument in the Abbey.

This volume, beautifully illustrated, contains a life of Gordon and a study of his poetical claims and a selection of his best poems. *Illustrated, 5s.*

Miscellaneous

By Professor C. E. M. Joad

THE FUTURE OF THE ENGLISH COUNTRYSIDE

A Charter for Walkers

It is to the credit of the men and women of this generation that they have discovered the English countryside: it will be to their lasting shame if their discovery proves its ruin.

Walking to-day has replaced drinking as the shortest cut out of Manchester. With what result? We have found England a land of "beauty spots". We have covered it with garages and pumps, bungalows and caravans, tea-rooms and disused trams, buses and railway carriages. Everywhere it sprouts with "Ye Oldes".

Is it too late, asks Professor Joad, to save some remnant of England for the enjoyment of its citizens? Probably, he answers, it is. But it is interesting to know what we would do if we cared to save it.

The nature of these remedies, the nature of the disease to which they will almost certainly not be applied, and the reasons why they will not be applied, Professor Joad sets out in this provocative, challenging, stimulating book.

2s. 6d.

LOW AND TERRY

ALMOST sacred are those few minutes which many thousands of people reserve every Saturday in order that they may follow the delicious antics of Low and Terry through their page in the *Evening Standard*. There is no doubt that David Low is the supreme cartoonist of our day. With devastating good humour and wit, and yet with the most bitter penetration, he exposes the foibles of politicians and the frequent futility of their efforts. It was a happy chance that brought him into association with Terry and sent the couple forth amongst the activities of people more humble than politicians. In this book we accompany Low and Terry on the wildest of excursions and are kept hilariously amused at Terry's wit and Low's mischievous drawings.

5s.

By Edward C. Ash THIS DOGGY BUSINESS

Author of "*The Practical Dog Book*", "*The Book of the Greyhound*", etc.

THE dog in lore and legend is dealt with in this extraordinarily interesting and fascinating volume.

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MADAME D'ALROY's Diary has for some time proved a mental tonic for *Daily Sketch* readers, men, women, young and old. With the outlook of youth she writes from the viewpoint of experience. Life as it affects every human being is humanly dealt with. Madame d'Alroy cures our stupidities with a laugh, our weaknesses with sound common sense, our sorrows with sympathy.

Illustrated, 2s. 6d.

Aeronautical

By *Clifford Collinson, F.R.G.S.* ATLANTIC
and *F. McDermott, F.R.G.S.* FLIGHTS

Author of "Explorers All", "Half the Seas Over", etc.

IN this book is the undying story of those pioneers of aviation who have forged the links in the nearly completed chain of aerial communication between England and America; of their preparations and their difficulties; of the tense and dramatic incidents of the actual flights. Humour, thrilling adventure and drama all have their places in this book. It recounts, amongst other things, how a passenger who was not a pilot, in a moment of irritation after flying the Atlantic, took up a 'plane and flew the Channel; how airmen, forced down in the South Atlantic, swam ashore only to be taken prisoners by a fierce band of Moors; how Captain Hinchliffe and the Hon. Elsie Mackay started upon their ill-fated trip and the uncanny sequel which followed. Nearly fifty successful and unsuccessful flights are dealt with in the narrative, comprising a complete survey of Atlantic flying from the first naïve attempt in 1910 by an airship anchored to the sea up to the historic and awe-inspiring mass-formation flight by General Balbo.

Illustrated, 12s. 6d.

By *Capt. A. O. Pollard, V.C.* THE ROYAL
M.C., D.C.M. AIR FORCE

Author of "Fire Eater", "The Phantom 'Plane'", etc.

Few subjects are more to the fore at the moment than that of the Royal Air Force. We have declined to the position of sixth amongst the nations in Air Power, and whilst some say that this is right and proper, others are asserting the claims for a greater and stronger Air Force. With this question this book does not deal, but it sets forth simply and with that strength of narrative force that has made Captain Pollard so popular a novelist, the thrilling story of the development of the Air Force and gives a vivid picture of the Service as it is to-day. 12s. 6d.

New light on India .

By *Graham Seton Hutchison,*

D.S.O., M.C.

ARYA

Author of "Meteor", "Footslogger" (5th imp.), "Warrior"
(2nd imp.)

HERE is a stream of fresh light upon India, which penetrates into the darkest places of the great problem. It is an inspired work, concerned not only with material considerations, but which carries the reader into the realms of cosmic reality and reveals what has hitherto proved shadowy and mysterious. Though there have been many books on the subject of India which prescribe a cure for its present condition, hitherto no one has attempted such a diagnosis. *Arya* is unique. India is in the front rank of world problems, the cure of its ills more immediate and more important than those of any other, for vital reasons which the author explains. 5s.

Murder!

By *Benjamin Bennet* in collaboration with

François Pierre Rousseau UP FOR MURDER

A Study of South African Murder Cases

"AFRICA," writes Mr. Bennet in his introduction to this thrilling and fascinating book, "is quite different from Europe in her polyglot millions, her vastness, wildness, wealth, development, culture, politics, problems, mystery, unexpectedness—often even in murder. I think I may fairly claim," he continues, "to have 'covered' most of South Africa's outstanding murders and big crime stories during the past half-dozen or so years. I have been commissioned by my papers to 'write-up' murder investigations and trials in different parts of the country. In the Cape Town courts I have fought my way to the Press-box through struggling mobs of expensively furred, sensation-loving white women, who unconcernedly rub shoulders with *fizzed* Malays smelling of garlic, and tattered, offensively filthy kaffirs from the city's garbage heaps."

Unusual, of absorbing interest, *Up For Murder* is, of its class, a book of outstanding quality. *Illustrated*, 15s.

Travel & Adventure

By *Attilio Gatti*

BLACK MIST

Author of "*Hidden Africa*", "*Tom Tom in the Night*", etc.

COMMANDER GATTI, who, with his previous books, has thrilled so many lovers of adventure, devotes this new book to the many mysterious happenings he has encountered among the Arabs of the North and the natives of Southern and Central Africa.

Only a rare and intimate knowledge of the dark-skinned men of the North and South has made it possible for Commander Gatti to have seen and heard the remarkable stories he relates; to have penetrated somewhat into the "black mist" of the native mind, beyond the boundaries of reason.

Black Mist is a book of profound and unusual interest, which will excite discussion and provoke and thrill the many who will be attracted by its strangeness.

Illustrated, 18s.

Sport

By *Marjorie Pollard*

CRICKET FOR WOMEN

Author of "*Hockey for Women*", etc.

No one could more appropriately write this first book about women's cricket than Marjorie Pollard, who has contributed so much to the progress of women's sport.

Miss Pollard has been closely associated with the development of the Women's Cricket Association since its foundation, has played in all the representative matches since 1927, and was a member of the first England Women's Cricket team to be chosen.

This book is, in some cases, pre-elementary in that it endeavours to teach such things as throwing and catching the ball. But all details of the game are dealt with from the woman's point of view and for her needs. There are interesting chapters on the history of women's cricket and many entertaining recollections of the author's own experiences.

Illustrated, 4s. 6d.

A Delicious Volume

By *Cosmo Hamilton*

PEOPLE WORTH
TALKING ABOUT

With Caricatures by Conrado Massaguer

SINCERITY, charm and the feeling that the author is talking about his intimates—these are the keynotes of this collection of sketches. Most of them deal with our contemporaries; the remainder with men whose enduring influence entitles them to the name of Immortals. Hardy, Galsworthy, Conrad, they live among us still, and move us always by qualities of genius which time cannot stale. These sketches possess in a rare degree the accent of the spoken word, the salty flavour of a worth-while personality gossiping to himself about memorable incidents.

Here is a rich fund of anecdotes; about that inveterate veteran, H. G. Wells; about Kipling, Barrie, Chesterton, and, not least, the irrepressible Shaw. The reader is re-introduced to Max Beerbohm, Noel Coward and many others.

This book is as delightful a gallery of intimate portraits as has ever been made public and its value is heightened by a series of clever foils in the caricatures by Conrado Massaguer.

Illustrated 12s. 6d.

General Fiction

By Frank Swinnerton

ELIZABETH

Author of "The Georgian House" (7th imp.), etc.

Elizabeth is the longest and richest book yet written by Mr. Swinnerton. Its background is that coastal town of Seahampton which was visited from Sandersfold by the characters in *The Georgian House*, and the history of Seahampton plays an important part in the story. The story itself covers a long period, but it is not a chronicle novel of the usual type, for it is a dramatic tale of jealousy which at the same time concerns itself with a curious psychological problem. Many characters appear, so that Elizabeth herself is seen from a number of different angles and in relation to all kinds of strange and interesting experiences.

7s. 6d.



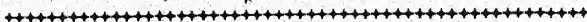
By George Woden

LOVE AND LET LOVE

Author of "Mungo", etc.

"A MOVING and passionate tale, written with gravity and restraint, and with a beautifully exact observation of nature and humanity." So Mr. Compton Mackenzie wrote of *Mungo*, which achieved so great a success. In *Love and Let Love* readers will find the same qualities and a greater dramatic force. The scene is an historic English village near a cathedral town, at the present time. The characters are city-bred Scots, from Glasgow, and both Saint Modwen and the Devil play active parts in the conflicts of flesh and spirit, reason and unreason, time and chance, which make the story.

7s. 6d.



By *Ethel Boileau* WHEN YELLOW LEAVES . . .

Author of "*Turnip Tops*" (21st thous.), etc.

AFTER many months of publication, *Turnip Tops* is still one of the merriest sellers of the last few years. "It is an event in a reviewer's life," wrote Mr. Cecil Roberts; "... here," he continued, "is a truly exquisite piece of work. It is so good that the story really does not matter."

And now Ethel Boileau's new novel, *When Yellow Leaves* . . . Great things are expected of it, and we are quite convinced that no expectations will be disappointed.

Ethel Boileau tells the story of the passing of an order, the ruin of a family living on and by "the land"; the helplessness of a man bred in the old order to stand up against the complexities of modern life, or to understand his children, who are of the new world which is strange to him. The story is one of conflict—not only between Sir Anthony Vane and the forces which finally overwhelm him, but also between him and his sons Michael and Derrick.

Against the background of the English countryside, sketched as unerringly as in *Turnip Tops*, this story is told, with its wealth of detail, and its moving, vital plot.

7s. 6d.

By *Robert Hichens*

THE GARDENIA AND OTHER STORIES

Author of "*Dr. Arts*" (5th imp.), "*The Garden of Allah*", etc.

A VOLUME of stories by Mr. Hichens is an event. Very few living writers combine so thoroughly and completely the very different arts of the novelist and the short-story writer. All the stories in this volume are in Mr. Hichens' best vein; models of their kind in technique, they cover a wide field and contain a long gallery of vivid characters.

7s. 6d.

General Fiction

By *Eden Phillpotts* THE OLDEST INHABITANT

Author of "*The Farmer's Wife*", "*Yellow Sands*", "*Witch's Cauldron*", etc.

WITH his beloved Devonshire as his background, and with a lifelong experience of its native's character as his material, Mr. Phillpotts gives us here one of the most charming and penetrating novels that he has ever written. Ned, the village Communist, called his old Grandfather "a silly old blue-bottle", but, be that as it may, the old man holds the stage in this story and will remain in the minds of readers more tolerant than young Ned, as one of the most memorable of the characters created by Mr. Phillpotts in a long series of brilliant achievements.

This story, as the "silly old blue-bottle" said himself, is the meeting of two generations and a new presentation of the old story of a bigoted father and discontented children.

7s. 6d.

By *Ursula Bloom*

PASTORAL

Author of "*Wonder Cruise*", "*An April After*", "*Tarnish*", etc.

URSULA BLOOM lived in the heart of the wilds for many years. In this novel she has gone back to her own country, and she tells the story of the beauty of that country and of the destroying force which lies behind that beauty. She tells the life history of Alan Drew, a brilliant young man who, taking Orders, finds city life too hard, and takes the country living. He believes that he will find there the inspiration he desires. The whole parish holds him. Things are not as he expected. The old fire dies; the War comes; his family grow to manhood and to womanhood and presently he, growing old and with his brilliance befogged, dies. For thirty years he had lived in the heart of rustic England and, in that tide of tranquil beauty, lost everything.

Pastoral is a revealing and a devastating story written with a passionate sincerity and a skill which is bringing to Ursula Bloom increasing recognition as a novelist of real importance.

7s. 6d.

General Fiction

By Cosmo Hamilton

SPLENDOUR OF
TORCHES

Author of "Caste", "Pleasure House", etc.

A NEW novel by Cosmo Hamilton is always an event of importance to an ever increasing public. In *Splendour of Torches* he has written what is, without question, his finest and most vital novel, and it is easy to prophesy that the gallantry and courage of the Falconer family in facing the difficult problems of keeping their heads above water in the days in which we live will put them into readers' hearts as their very inspiring friends. He tells an absorbing story with great emotional power, and with chapters of such beauty that he earns our gratitude.

7s. 6d.

By Eileen Tremayne PAUL AND MICHAEL

Author of "Quatrain" (3rd imp.)

"MISS TREMAYNE is clearly a writer whose talents, when further developed, will create for her a wide public." Thus the *Daily Telegraph* in review of Miss Tremayne's brilliant and successful first novel, *Quatrain*, which will surely have lingered in the memories of all who read it.

Paul and Michael is as brilliant and as promising a second novel as was *Quatrain* a first. It tells the story of two friends whose lives and characters, so different and so diverse, interweave and remain interwoven by indefinable yet irrevocable bonds.

Both Paul, brilliant, and Michael, solid, attain the inevitable successes and failures of life. In their characters and in their lives, they will be found in this book full of interest, etched sharply and with thorough understanding.

7s. 6d.

General Fiction

By Stephen McKenna

THE UNDISCOVERED
COUNTRY

Author of "*Sonia*", "*The Secret Victory*", "*The Magic Quest*",
"*Namesakes*", etc.

A NEW novel by Mr. McKenna is an event which always arouses interest. So wide his range over life, so challenging are the situations in which he places his characters, and so vivid and dramatic is his story-telling, that his readers are always certain of entertainment and stimulation. *The Undiscovered Country* is an ingenious and dramatic novel whose publication will be eagerly awaited.

7s. 6d.

By Marjorie Stewart

COFFEE AT ELEVEN

Author of "*Adam Square*", "*Mysterious Way*"

WE are still in the same city as in *Mysterious Way* and *Adam Square*, but we do not, in this third novel of Marjorie Stewart's, meet any of the old friends. Instead we get a glimpse of life as epitomized by the various types of human being who foregather in any big restaurant for coffee at eleven: the woman surgeon, now an invalid and prevented from completing her life work; her niece Mélanie; University students; hospital nurses; housewives; business men; the strangers who come and go; we meet them all at this morning ceremony.

Coffee at Eleven is a very human story, the most ambitious that Marjorie Stewart has yet written, and likely, we think, to prove the most popular as well.

7s. 6d.

By Vivian Ellis

FAINT HARMONY

Author of "Zelma" (3rd imp.)

"It seems to me," wrote Cecil Roberts of Mr. Ellis' brilliant and triumphant first novel, *Zelma*, "that he is as much at home on the keys of his typewriter as on those of his piano." And indeed it does now seem that Mr. Ellis is to make as great a name for himself as a novelist as he has already as a composer.

Faint Harmony is a finer novel in every way than was *Zelma*. In it Mr. Ellis turns his attention to music and musicians, and not only portrays the struggle of a great composer with sympathetic insight, but interweaves, like a counter-melody to this romance of the musical world, vivid pictures of Continental domestic life from the 'eighties until the present day.

7s. 6d.

By Emmeline Morrison

LEITH OF WILLOW
HALL

Author of "Jack Rivers' Wife", "Swept by the Tide", etc.

IN giving us her twenty-fifth novel in the comparatively short space of twelve years, Emmeline Morrison has established herself as one of the most prolific as well as popular novelists of the present day. More than anything is her success due to the consistent originality of her stories. She never forgets that "the story's the thing", and, as in all her novels, the story of *Leith of Willow Hall* persists from the first page to the last. The romantic love of Lenore Garland for Nicholas Gaye, a kindred spirit of her own generation, continuing even after her forced marriage to Hugh Leith, a wealthy man some twenty years older than herself and with a grown-up daughter, creates a position which enables Emmeline Morrison to tell a story of great interest and human emotion.

It is only at the end that Lenore makes her choice, in most dramatic circumstances, between the love of her girlhood and her husband.

7s. 6d.

General Fiction

By *Johannes Buchholtz*

SUSANNE

Translated by Edwin Bjorkman

IN the Inter-Scandinavian Novel Contest, this novel won the first Danish prize, as *Two Living and One Dead* by Sigurd Christensen won the first Norwegian prize. Not only is it a penetrating picture of present-day Denmark and its modern young people, it is an absorbing story of the young girl Susanne, her rise from humble surroundings to the complexities of sophisticated upper-class life.

The introduction of Danish literature touching upon contemporary life in that country has been scanty over here. So the background and customs portrayed in *Susanne* have their own fresh quality, while the problems involved are common to human beings all over the world. The baker's daughter who resists seduction by the son of a wealthy shipowner and then becomes his bride, only to find that marriage and children do not necessarily fortify a man and woman's relationship, is a heroine of universal appeal. 7s. 6d.

By *Frederic Arnold Kummer*

RED CLAY

Author of "*Forbidden Wine*", "*Ladies in Hades*", etc.

VERY charming and picturesque and eminently readable is this story of three unemployed American citizens who tramp the roads, treating their misfortunes with scant respect and taking cheerfulness into the lives of many they meet on their way.

There is the tramp with his love of literature and music; the young girl who was a commercial free-lance artist and who gives marionette performances with her self-made toy theatre; and an ex-bank clerk who is pursued by a wealthy woman.

A little reminiscent of the late W. J. Locke's *Beloved Vagabond* and with a flavouring of J. B. Priestley's *Good Companions*, this novel will assuredly win its way to success and do much to enhance the reputation of its author. 7s. 6d.

By Naomi Jacob

FOUR GENERATIONS

Author of "Groping", "That Wild Lie", "Young Emmanuel", etc.

IN this novel Miss Jacob completes the saga of the Gollantz family. In *That Wild Lie* the rise of the house under the leadership of the original Emmanuel Gollantz was traced for us; in *Young Emmanuel* we followed the fortunes of the family with Emmanuel's son, Max, as its head, and now in this third book Young Emmanuel appears as the central figure.

His character is no less lovable than that of the grandfather who made such a wide appeal to Miss Jacob's readers. He is shown first, immediately after his marriage, when forced to take his place in a world which he neither likes nor understands. The story tells of his rejection of that life, his attempt to find happiness, to make a career apart from the one offered to him as his father's son, and his final goal. Not the goal he had planned, but one which will yield to him a greater measure of contentment than he had previously known.

7s. 6d.

By Philip Hughes

MY STRANGE WIFE

Author of "A Man of Manners", "Together", "Night Girl"

PHILIP HUGHES is a rising novelist who has been described by the *Morning Post* as "the late W. J. Locke's pre-ordained successor". And already the three novels which have come from his pen have achieved remarkable successes.

The theme of this fourth novel is that of a wife compelled to keep an important secret from the husband she loves. For months she successfully evades his efforts to drag it from her, but eventually overwhelming circumstances force her to reveal it.

My Strange Wife is a delicate story of modern marriage, rich in dramatic situations, and ending on a happy note.

7s. 6d.

General Fiction

By *Simon Dare*

APRIL WHIRLWIND

Author of "Blind Madonna", "Sea Drift," etc.

SIMON DARE has set her new story in a tiny village on the north coast of Somerset and in it writes of Penelope and her widowed mother, of their money losses philosophically encountered and of the girl's gradual realization, after one or two mistakes, as to which is the man of importance in her life.

We meet, too, in this story, the beautiful Ariadne, butterfly charmer, fighting with a certain blind courage against the decree of Fate; the dying artist in his bungalow on the cliff who is reprieved by a miracle of science; Ben Carruthers, harassed by conflicting loyalties, and many others.

But, dominating and challenging throughout the book, is the spirit of Youth with its highest passion for achievement, its courage, its independence and its loyalty; its whirlwind virility, its gallant adventuring. 7s. 6d.

By *Netta Muskett*

A MIRROR FOR DREAMS

Author of "Plaster Cast", "The Open Window", etc.

IN Netta Muskett's delightful new romance we meet Philip Vale, part materialist, part dreamer, who is recalled from his aimless wanderings to take control of a famous London newspaper which he has inherited. To it he brings his dreams and ideals for a truthful and fearless Press which he believes will be the saving of his country.

In the background of his life, impinging on it casually in the first place and becoming irrevocably grafted upon it, is Eve, neither wife, mistress, nor friend.

Thrusting aside as negligible the intimate and personal side of life, he throws himself enthusiastically into his work, and when he finds that the world neither understands nor desires the fulfilment of his dreams, bitterness almost destroys his soul. Suddenly, however, he realizes, through Eve's suffering and his own, that their life together is the reality and his dreams but the reflection in a mirror. 7s. 6d.

By V. Veresayev

THE SISTERS

(Translated from the Russian)

DR. VERESAYEV, a medical practitioner, was a prominent writer under the old Russian régime.

In *The Sisters* this thoughtful and conscientious observer of life reveals to the reader, with penetration and art, the lives of two sisters in Soviet Russia. Beautiful and gifted girls, their ideal was to live and think as genuine members of the proletariat, unswerving pupils of Lenin and devoted workers in their cause. Their thoughts, feelings, mental and spiritual struggles, and love affairs are given in a style simple and attractive.

The Sisters is one of the most readable and illuminating of novels that have emerged from the Soviet. 7s. 6d.

By Andrew Soutar

MONEY SPINNERS

Author of "The Hanging Sword", "Hagar Called Hannah", etc.

THERE is a collection of stories which Mr. Soutar calls 'grim and human'. How grim and how human Mr. Soutar can be those who have read his novels will appreciate. Every one of the stories in this volume are perfect examples of Mr. Soutar's art and versatility and they provide an entertainment against which it would be hard to compete. 7s. 6d.

SALLY IN A SERVICE FLAT

An amusing light-hearted romance

by

MABEL BARNES-GRUNDY

Author of "Two in a Tent and Jane", "Candytuft—I Mean Veronica", etc.

7s. 6d.

General Fiction

By *Maboth Moseley*

WAR UPON WOMEN

Author of "God Created Them Apart", etc.

If war broke out at the present time, what would you do? A terrible question which every one of us might have to answer in no distant future.

In *War Upon Women*, Maboth Moseley, one of the most brilliant and controversial of the younger novelists, has answered this very question on behalf of a retired English Colonel, his wife, his daughter, his servants and a young pacifist. Her principal aim is to show what will happen to women in the event of another war. It has happened all down the ages, but most people find it convenient to forget. *War Upon Women* jogs the memory.

7s. 6d.

By *David Grew*

THE WEREWOLF OF EDMONTON

Author of "The Sorrell Stallion."

No one who loves horses should have missed David

Grew's autobiography of *The Sorrell Stallion* which, upon its publication last autumn, was acclaimed as a natural successor to *Black Beauty*. And no one who loves dogs should now miss this biography of one of the most attractive puppies who have ever scampered into the pages of a book.

Here is that rare thing, a dog-book which does not sentimentalize or wax facetious, attributing to the dog human thoughts or characteristics. But it describes all his emotions and gropings towards thought and co-ordination of impulses from birth. The puppy's experiences with wild animals, his sorrows and joys, his gradual realization that life is not all petting and food, hold the interest in a remarkable degree.

7s. 6d.

By *Margaret Baillie Saunders*

FEATURING ELISA

A brilliantly entertaining new novel by the author of "A Mayoress's Wiping", "John O'Chimes", etc.

7s. 6d.

Hutchinson's, "First Novel" Library

The success of our First Novel Library has exceeded our most optimistic hopes. Each of the novels published in it has taken its place amongst the great mass of Autumn publications and has won attention and recognition. Below are listed those novels to be published during the Spring. The announcement of this Library resulted in an almost embarrassing deluge of first novels descending upon us, and we feel confident that those of them we have accepted represent the finest selection of first novels that has been issued for many years.

By *Ellen Gatin*

WAYFARING WOMEN

(First Novel Library, No. 8)

"This is a most enchanting book," writes one of the most critical of our literary advisers of this first novel; 'it may be highly improbable, but what does that matter? Sufficient surely that it is delightful entertainment, with swift-moving adventure of an unhackneyed type; enough delicate sentiment and romance to be wholly pleasing; and a thoroughly good plot, the threads of which are skilfully woven together into a harmonious whole with a delightful ending. I can best describe it in a schoolboy phrase as being a 'simply ripping' book.'"

That is high praise indeed, but fully deserved, as everyone who reads the novel will agree.

The story is set, for the main, in Africa, and the local colour is vividly and brilliantly portrayed. One finds here adventure, romance and, above all, a new writer of exceptional promise.

7s. 6d.

By *Prudence Summerhayes*

COBWEB CHILD

(First Novel Library, No. 9)

This is Prudence Summerhayes' first novel. Her fresh and delicate touch will win your sympathy, will quicken your interest, and you will write down her name for future reference.

The chief character in her novel is a rambling Tudor house. Its individuality haunts the story and entices one ingeniously away from all the tiresome, everyday things that harass the mind, into a remote and sleepy part of the quiet English countryside.

7s. 6d.

First Novel Library

By *Aubrey Boyd*

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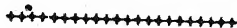
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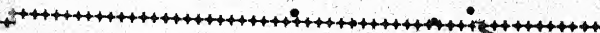
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